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West Europe Report

SPECIAL NOTICE INSIDE

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SOCIALISTS CONTINUE TO FAVOR COALITION WITH PEOPLE'S PARTY

Columnist: No Alternative

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 20 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Dieter Lenhardt: "Grand Coalition: SPOe Has No Alternative--As Problems Mount, Ties Grow Closer"]

[Text] Even before it was able to get down to business, most any observer will agree, the grand coalition ran into serious trouble over the overdramatized Draken crisis and the state-owned industries crisis which cannot be dramatized enough. For all that, the OeVP position is a good deal worse than that of the SPOe--not only because of the Draken issue, as the polls have shown. This has recently led to talk that the SPOe need not worry about a breakup of the coalition in case there is a change in the OeVP leadership. It has been said that it stands to win in any case--in terms of numbers vis-a-vis the OeVP, if elections are held, and in terms of maneuverability in running the government.

But now socialist party leaders contend quite credibly that the opposite is in fact the case because the coalition arrangement this time is different from the one the SPOe entered into with the FPÖe. The red-and-blue coalition, they say, was between the SPOe and Norbert Steger and his wing of the FPÖe whereas the present grand coalition is not between the SPOe and Alois Mock (or the Mock-Graf wing of the People's Party) but with the OeVP as such. As long as the new OeVP leadership does not violate the joint working agreement, the SPOe will continue to honor it.

In and of itself, this view expressed by the SPOe leadership would not be particularly striking but the addendum is. Given the present precarious situation, they say, the best form of government would not be a possible all-socialist government based on an absolute SPOe majority but in fact this very coalition with the OeVP.

The basic rationale behind their thinking, they say, is that the problems involving the budget, the state-owned industries, the labor market, the social insurance system and agriculture take precedence over everything else. However difficult cooperation between the two parties has turned out to be, the socialist leaders feel that these problems have become so much more

intractable since the end of 1986 that any doubts they might originally have had about entering the grand coalition have dissipated.

For this reason, they add, speculation about the possible outcome of a "crisis election" may help pass the time but would be inconsequential even if the SPOe were to attain anything like an absolute majority--a eventuality discounted by virtually all the pollsters. The speculation goes something like this: currently, the OeVP is losing voters in a "linear fashion" to the FPÖe. This is another way of saying that the People's Party is not losing a sufficient number of "Vranitzky voters" to the SPOe to more than marginally increase overall socialist strength, since the Greens-Alternatives' chances on the SPOe "youth fringe" are still quite good.

In other words, this would not even put the initial SPOe goal within striking distance, i.e. of being able to form a majority with either the FPÖe or the Greens while the OeVP could obtain no such majority with Joerg Haider's help. But because of the present overriding economic problems, this "initial goal," even if attainable, would scarcely profit the party in practical terms. The "secondary goal," i.e. that of attaining the absolute majority--utopian as it is for the foreseeable future--would be just as difficult to deal with. "Even with a Kreisky-type majority, the socialists would be unable to govern Austria at this juncture," one SPOe leader told DIE PRESSE.

He added parenthetically that what with the seating of a fourth party in parliament, proportional representation and the likely political climate in Austria for the foreseeable future none of the political parties can be expected to obtain an absolute majority from here on in.

Given this situation, what does it mean for the SPOe, the stronger of the two coalition partners ? Only one of the socialists I talked to came up with a surprisingly straightforward answer, i.e. "we must and we will take pains to protect the OeVP." Other SPOe spokesmen are merely willing to admit to a kind of truce vis-a-vis the People's Party or at least are unwilling to go beyond that statement.

At this juncture then, one has a better idea of why Chancellor Vranitzky is worried about Mock's strengths and/or weaknesses--because the two get along well with each other. But even if present OeVP policies are revamped at the party congress and a new chairman is named, Vranitzky is determined to maintain the coalition just the same.

The socialists are convinced that there is no alternative.

Thus the old chimpanzee principle enunciated by [former vice chancellor] Pittermann is back in style. It has been around since 1959; its language is drastic and undignified: "If our coalition partner names a chimpanzee to one of the posts to which he is entitled under our agreement--we will accept him."

Vranitzky Determined to Continue

Vienna KURIER in German 25 Mar 87 p 5

[Article by Hubert Wachter: "Vranitzky Infinitely Patient with Mock, OeVP"]

[Text] Whatever happens inside the OeVP, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky is determined to stay with the present coalition through the entire legislative session. In a conversation with the KURIER, he stated his firm resolve that his style of governing is not a "chess game among a handful of politicians" but is based on a policy which focuses "on what Austria's interests are."

Set in motion by the Draken drama, the personnel debate inside the OeVP has not abated since the evening of 23 November 1986, when it first began.

Last week, as demands to move the OeVP national congress ahead to the spring of 1988 grew louder and more insistent, the word was out that OeVP chief Vice Chancellor Mock's "grace period" has only one more year to run.

Vranitzky is not impressed by this, discounting any sort of "Haider effect" for the OeVP. The Haider effect being that the SPOe would immediately cancel the coalition, if the OeVP were to vote Mock out of office, as the FPÖe did in the case of [its former chairman] Norbert Steger.

"If there are personnel changes in one of the two parties, those would be the kind of developments which are simply part and parcel of a democratic system of government," Vranitzky says. "Although I do not actually anticipate such a development, this would mean that certain personnel changes take place but not necessarily that we would have to hold new elections."

No Flirtation with Haider

Nor is Vranitzky worried by the threat voiced by the Styrian OeVP to work for a CSU-type solution within the People's Party.

"Speaking for myself, I can see no signs of that happening," he says. "But if it did, I am sure the OeVP members of my cabinet would explain the situation to me and we would arrive at a new consensus on how to handle things. Such a situation would not have to bring about new elections either."

Vranitzky says he is firmly resolved to serve his full 4-year term with the help of this coalition which he calls "the most sensible and efficient type of government for Austria."

In saying this, Vranitzky also dismisses any and all speculation which had surfaced over the past few weeks as to the SPOe's accepting Joerg Haider's FPÖe as a possible coalition partner once again. He is not ready to make for the shore to look for a new partner in the coalition sailboat now that a few squalls have come up, he says.

"We will keep on sailing—against the wind, if need be," he adds.

There is a good deal of talk inside the SPOe about rumors to the effect that Vranitzky is getting impatient with the OeVP; that he will call for new elections because of the intramural problems faced by Mock and his followers and that he will break up the coalition. Vranitzky is aware of this. "But," he says, "those are individuals talking. Officially, the party has not said a word about it."

Inside the OeVP, too, influential party functionaries are expressing serious concern. Minister of Commerce Graf, for example, says he is "deeply worried" by events and would not rule out a breakup of the coalition."

A Hot Spring in 1988 ?

The spring of 1988 is beginning to look more and more like a "hot deadline" for Austria's domestic policy agenda.

For one thing, for all his patience with the OeVP and with Mock, Chancellor Vranitzky is unable to predict what might happen at an OeVP party congress held ahead of time.

The fact remains that the OeVP, with Alois Mock at its head, ratified the coalition pact with the SPOe. "As far as I am concerned," Vranitzky says, "Mock continues to be my coalition partner as long as he retains his post. Just as I make the same assumption regarding myself."

Vranitzky would like to continue working with the People's Party. But the question is whether his own party would support him in this endeavor even if the OeVP elects a new chairman and if a second, CSU-type OeVP is formed.

If he does not prevail, then Austria will have to go the polls again in the spring of 1988. Not to mention the Draken affair and the deep cuts in the nationalized industries budget in 1987.

9478

CSO: 3620/181

PARTIES MANEUVER FOR BRUSSELS COMMUNAL ELECTIONS

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 4 Mar 87 pp 43-49

[Article by Kurt Reviere: "In Brussels the Knives Are Being Sharpened"]

[Text] In Brussels they are already talking aloud about the 1988 municipal council elections. Will the Flemish in Brussels sell their souls for a few additional alderman seats?

After the summer all party machines will get into gear for the municipal council elections of October 1988. But in Brussels it looks as if this has happened at least half a year earlier. Of course, at the moment every right-minded mayor is already weighing the paths he can follow to ensure another legislative term. That is not the only worry in the capital. There people are very busy speculating, names are being pushed forward, negotiations are taking place and agreements are being concluded.

PRL member of parliament Henri Simonet, himself a mayoral candidate in the municipality of Brussels, has started a lengthy round of consultations in the 19 municipalities that make up greater Brussels to see how his party could best pick up the FDF [Democratic Front of Brussels French Speakers] votes. Shortly, the Brussels CVP Chairman Walter Vandenbossche will also start a tour of his local party sections. Moreover, there are rumors of ballot box agreements in Anderlecht, the municipality of Brussels, Etterbeek, Ganshoren, Jette, Molenbeek, Sint-Gillis and Watermaal-Bosvoorde.

An Old Plan

Consequently, the stakes of the municipal council elections in Brussels are very important. Perhaps it will be the last political territorial staffing prior to the merger of the municipalities. There has already been some talk about this among the government parties, but an agreement seems far off. Both the PRL and the PSC are offering strong resistance in order not to have to phase out their local baronies. Vice Prime Minister Jean Gol [PRL] does not want a merger agreement before 1988, while his constitutional equal, Jean-Luc Dehaene [CVP] happens to see the probability of an agreement by the upcoming municipal elections as very high.

As far as the Flemish negotiators are concerned, mergers are unavoidable in time. The advent of Minister Joseph Michel [PSC] in the Ministry of Internal Affairs gave them an un hoped for ally. Michel, who had also been the spiritual father of the mergers in 1976, pulled an old plan out of the drawer to unite Brussels in spite of the local lobby. According to his scenario, the mergers would take place in two stages. In 1994, Brussels proper would be merged with the smaller surrounding municipalities (Sint-Gillis, Sint-Joost and parts of Elsene, Etterbeek and Schaarbeek) into a core of more than 400,000 inhabitants. At the same time, the dreadful financial problems of the pauperized Sint-Gillis would be solved.

With the elections of the year 2000, this would be followed by the merger of another five municipalities around that center. There are also other scenarios, which propose a merger up to 3 (Monteyne, 1975), 7 (Weckx, 1977) or 8 (Thys, 1977), while the Flemish in Brussels are increasingly thinking out loud now about a joining of the 19 into a single super-municipality which would then, for local affairs, be divided again into dozens of districts.

As a matter of fact, in terms of the list formation for the upcoming elections people are looking with interest at the strategy of those Brussels Flemings. Since their third congress of March 1986, they have never been such clear candidates to help solve the local problems of the capital. The question is whether the Flemish politicians will not have to pay a high price for that power participation.

That was the undertone of the accusations leveled at Anemie Neyts. The other Flemish party leaders suspected the chairperson of the PVV of using her liberal way of thinking to look for a rapprochement with the PRL. HET LAATSTE NIEUWS, among others, hurried to note that other parties were also trying to develop mixed language lists per political family.

Inquiries among Brussels circles confirmed that orientation. District CVP Chairman Vandenbossche said that his party is considering every scenario for all 19 municipalities and will choose the formula which will produce the highest number of seats. The same is heard from the SP. According to Jan Abbeloos, provincial and municipal council member for Anderlecht, his district committee will take action primarily in those municipalities where it has little SP support in order to provide the party with a favorable starting position there.

This is the case, among others, in Sint-Agatha-Berchem and Vorst. In Sint-Gillis, PS Mayor Charles Picque even promised the SP that in 1989 a Flemish person would be elected to the College of Aldermen. The only problem is that this one Flemish socialist is hard to find in Sint-Gillis. Jan Abbeloos did not exclude the possibility that next time there will be many mixed language socialist lists. As a matter of fact, he himself was elected in Anderlecht from a joint SP/PS list and an agreement has already been signed there to form a coalition cartel with the PRL around socialist Mayor Christian D'Hoogh. AGALEV-ECOLO [Live Differently-Ecology Party], RAD-UDRT [Democratic Union for Respect for Work] and the Communists have also announced that they will form mixed language lists.

The hunger for family lists is in sharp contrast to the Flemish strategy at the time of the 1976 elections. At that time unity lists were produced in 18 of the 19 Brussels municipalities. It was the time when the Flemish in Brussels had just found their solidarity at their very first congress, that socio-cultural volunteer work took root everywhere, and especially the time when they advanced in closed formation against the FDF. From those unity lists as many as 86 Flemish municipal council members were elected at that time (out of a total of 675). There was only one municipality, Sint-Gillis, with no Fleming on the council.

However, the "unity" within the Flemish cartels quickly fell apart. Language alone proved not be a sound binding agent. They did not agree on (opposition) policy and there were problems with the succession of resigning council members, because they were not being succeeded by candidates of the same political orientation. That led to a fragmentation of the Flemish strategy at the time of the 1982 municipal council elections. Each party had its own Flemish list; Flemish cartels arose in addition to Flemish party lists and two language lists were already formed at that time.

With the result that the number of Flemish council members declined sharply. Depending on the source used, there are now between 69 and 80 Flemish elected officials in the Brussels municipal councils. That cannot be said with any certainty because a number of French speakers first took the oath in Flemish, and are thus counted as belonging to that language roll. In spite of the decline, since World War II Flemish participation in power had never been stronger: one Flemish mayor in Sint-Agatha-Berchem and as many as 16 Flemish aldermen (Anderlecht, Brussels proper, Evere, Ganshoren, Jette, Koekelberg, Schaarbeek, Sint-Agatha-Berchem, Molenbeek, Sint-Pieters-Woluwe). The CVP is clearly the strongest Flemish party in Brussels: it has provided more than half the Dutch speaking members of the Colleges of Aldermen.

Conference of Flemish Aldermen

During recent negotiations around Brussels, CVP Mayor Victor Guns of Sint-Agatha-Berchem even openly crossed his party's tactics. Guns flatly called the CVP's attitude toward the (non) decontrolling of Brussels inheritance taxes blackmail. A lament which Hugo Weckx (CVP), alderman under Guns and chairman of the Dutch Cultural Committee [NCC], freely admitted was alive among the majority of Flemish politicians in Brussels. The Brussels CVP has provided three aldermen for financial affairs and it knows to the last cent how much the changes in the distribution key for the municipal fund have cost the 19 municipalities.

Finally, the impotence of the Flemish aldermen is made obvious by a recent initiative by Robert Garcia, SP alderman in Jette, to call a conference of Flemish aldermen. This happened in imitation of the semi-official Conference of Brussels Mayors. According to Garcia, they do not consult with their Flemish aldermen anyhow when they take a position. Even in those municipalities where there are Flemish aldermen in the college, there is barely any discussion.

Mixed language lists are often an opportunistic way to power. But at the same time, they turn the Flemish elected officials partly into hostages of their French speaking colleagues. The Brussels municipalities are in urgent need of money and the French speaking mandataries are willing to compromise quite a bit for that. But the likelihood is great that such a victory would be temporary, in anticipation that the French speaking politicians will have divided the FDF cake.

CVP Alderman Camille Vandenbossche, from Anderlecht, knows this better than anyone. For 10 years now he has been in charge of the thankless portfolio of finance. Just now when his municipality has finally gotten out of the red, he is being dismissed by his French speaking colleagues with a friendly thank you for services rendered. In the already signed administrative agreement for Anderlecht, the CVP slipped up. As a result, the Flemish presence in the College of Aldermen was also halved.

8463

CSO: 3614/55

POST-ELECTION PARLIAMENT: COMMITTEE MEMBERS ANNOUNCED

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 2 Apr 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "German Parliament Ready to go to Work--Committee Composition--'Greens' Remain Excluded from 'Secret' Committees--Contested Appointments"]

[Text] Bonn, 1 April--By appointing its committee members and its legal watchdog groups, the Bundestag [parliament] last Wednesday got ready to go to work full time. Chairmanships reflected the election results; the FDP [Free Democrats] and the Greens obtained one additional chairmanship each. The CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union], SPD [Social Democratic Party] and the FDP rejected a motion by the Greens to establish a separate Women's Committee. The SPD's deputy fraction chairman, Schmidt, stated that there was no equivalent department in the government and said that women should act as role models to the men in all existing committees. FDP Fraction Manager Wolfgramm cited the already existing Committee for Youth, Family, Women and Health. The coalition and the SPD also rejected the Greens' demand that the Committee for Inter-German Relations be renamed the Committee for German-German Relations. The SPD was unsuccessful in seeking to establish a separate Europe Committee.

Nominating the membership of the Bundestag's "secret" commission turned out to be more complicated. The SPD contradicted itself in this matter by asking for a membership increase from eight to nine of the "Parliamentary Control Commission" (PKK), which supervises the intelligence services, so as to afford membership to the Greens. On the other hand, it voted for maintaining the present number of members in the commission which controls exceptions to the mail and long-distance communications secrecy ("G 10"), which is protected by Article 10 of the Constitution. By voting this way, the SPD in fact voted for excluding the Greens from this commission. Things were easier for CDU/CSU Fraction Manager Bohl than for his SPD opposite number Becker, when he cited the Bundestag's privilege of appointing commission members by a majority vote; these commissions are empowered to cast representative votes for all delegates. This, he said, had also been approved by the Federal Constitutional Court. In the end, the SPD's and Greens' proposal for increased membership was defeated by individual polling of 254 delegates (201 against).

In preliminary conferences the inclusion of the Greens in the "PKK" had been rejected even by such "leftwing liberal" delegates as Hirsch. On the other hand, Hirsch calls for "more actual monitoring," such as access to government files and interrogation privileges. Until now, he says, the control commission has had to depend on the government's goodwill. It has lost some political clout due to the fact that the two fraction chairmen, Dregger and Vogel, are no longer commission members. The chairmanship of the 8-member commission, which was founded in 1978, rotates every 6 months between the coalition and the opposition.

Future members of the Commission for Coalition Fractions will be: Waigel, Miltner and Olderog (CDU/CSU); Mischnick and Hirsch (FDP); for the SPD, Penner, Emmerlich and Jahn. The members of the G-10 Commission will be Helmrich and Wittmann (CDU/CSU); Baum (FDP); Helmuth Becker and Paterna (SPD). There was unanimous agreement on the membership of the Joint Committee for Crisis Management (the emergency parliament), staffed by both Bundestag and Bundesrat [the Upper House of Parliament], chaired by Bundestag President Jenninger, the intermediary committee between the two houses, in which the chairmanship rotates between Bundestag and Bundesrat. Here the new chairman for the Bundestag is Union delegate Huesch. There was agreement also in appointing the FRG representatives to the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe. As for appointing those delegates participating in the choice of judges of the Federal Constitutional Court and the other high federal courts, the Greens apparently dug a hole for themselves. For the 12-person Bundestag Election Committee which elects half the judges of the Federal Constitutional Court (the other half is appointed by the Bundesrat), the Greens nominated Delegate Volmer; however, she received only 29 votes and thus was ineligible. In the 11-person judge appointment committee which, together with the state ministers of justice, appoints the judges in the other high federal courts, the 28 votes for Schily were insufficient also.

In the FDP there was a "hassle" also. In a contested vote in the FDP fraction, Delegate Hirsch was narrowly defeated by Delegate Funke for alternate member of the Judgeship Appointment Committee. However, inasmuch as the fraction neglected to change the ballot, the delegates elected Hirsch, without regard to the FDP fraction's intentions.

The Committees

1. Committee for Election Monitoring, Immunity and Rules of Procedure. Chair: Konrad Porzner (SPD), Deputy: Norbert Lammert (CDU/CSU).

2. Petition Committee. Chair: Gero Pfennig (CDU/CSU), Deputy: Eugen von der Wiesche (SPD).

3. Foreign Policy Committee. Chair: Hans Stercken (CDU/CSU), Deputy: Hans Juergen Wischnewski (SPD).

4. Domestic Policy Committee. Chair: Hans Gottfried Bernrath (SPL), Deputy: Franz Heinrich Krey (CDU/CSU).

5. Sports Committee. Chair: Ferdinand Tillmann (CDU/CSU), Deputy: Heinrich Klein (SPD).
6. Justice Committee. Chair: Herbert Helmrich (CDU/CSU), Deputy: Ludwig Stiegler (SPD).
7. Finance Committee. Chair: Hans Gattermann (FDP), Deputy: Uwe Hueser (Greens).
8. Budget Committee. Chair: Rudi Walther (SPD), Deputy: Kalus Rose (CDU/CSU).
9. Economy Committee. Chair: Hermann Josef Unland (CDU/CSU), Deputy: Peter Reuschenbach (SPD).
10. Nutrition, Agriculture and Forestry Committee. Chair: Rudolf Mueller (SPD), Deputy: Karl Eigen (CDU/CSU).
11. Labor and Social Order Committee. Chair: Juergen Egert (SPD), Deputy: Alfons Mueller (CDU/CSU).
12. Defense Committee. Chair: Alfred Biehle (CDU/CSU), Deputy: Walter Kolbow (SPD).
13. Youth, Family, Women and Health Committee. Chair: Heike Wilms-Kegel (Greens), Deputy: Frau Ursula Maennle (CDU/CSU).
14. Transportation Committee. Chair: Karl Heinz Lemmrich (CDU/CSU), Deputy: Volkmar Kretkowski (SPD).
15. Postal and Communications Committee. Chair: Peter Paterna (SPD), Deputy: Klaus Buehler (CDU/CSU).
16. Regional Planning, Construction and Urban Design Committee, Chair: Franz Moeller (CDU/CSU), Deputy: Peter Conradi (SPD).
17. Inter-German Relations Committee. Chair: Hans Guenther Hoppe (FDP), Deputy: Caritas Hensel (Greens).
18. Research and Technology Committee. Chair: Wolf Michael Catenhusen (SPD), Deputy: Karl-Hans Laerman (FDP).
19. Education and Science Committee. Chair: Dietrich Wetzels (Greens), Deputy: Engelbert Nelle (CDU/CSU).
20. Economic Cooperation Committee. Chair: Uwe Holtz (SPD), Deputy: Heinrich Pohlmeier (CDU/CSU).
21. Committee for the Environment, Protection of Nature and Reactor Safety. Chair: Reinhard Goehner (CDU/CSU), Deputy: Liesel Hartenstein (SPD).

9273/9835
CSO: 3620/184

PRINCIPAL ISSUES AT FORTHCOMING KKE CONGRESS

Athens PONDIKI in Greek 20 Mar 87 p 8

/Excerpts/ Approximately 2 months before the 12th KKE Congress, three central issues already seem to be predominating in the "Reds'" discussions, namely the following:

1. A coalescence of democratic and progressive forces and the issues of democracy and multi-parties.
2. The need for a radical change in the way KKE organizations function, a renovation of its cadres and the articulation of a "new expression" by the party.
3. The changes that are occurring in the USSR at this time and the position of Greek communists to them.

The pre-congress dialogue that has been going on for some time now on almost a daily bases in the columns of RIZOSPASTIS, in party organizations and in meetings and symposia all reveal the following:

With regard to the issues of coalescence, democracy and multi-parties, the KKE Central Committee, without any hesitation whatsoever, is determined to effectuate an "overture" as described exactly in the controversial chapter on "positions." Certain reservations (not, however, open opposition) are being expressed (particularly in discussions held in organizations and lesser in dialogues appearing in the columns of RIZOSPASTIS) by simple party members and middle-level party cadres.

Most of the "cautious" come from the younger elements of the party, that is those who became party members during the period of the dictatorship and in the years immediately afterwards and not (as perhaps many imagine) from the older generation (the resistance movement, the pre-dictatorship EDA /United Democratic Left/, etc.). The younger elements came into the KKE at a time when "the struggle against rightist revisionism" was at its peak due to the 1968 split and the ideological and political conflicts with the KKE (Int.).

Therefore, having been schooled in struggle conditions against "rightist deviationism," certain members and cadres are unusually cautious about any openings that perhaps (so they fear) "might cause the party to deviate from its revolutionary principles."

On the other hand, there are no such reservations on the part of the older generation that lived through the EAM /National Liberation Front/ experience and the expansion of the pre-dictatorship EDA.

For removing such reservations (through dialogue), the KKE Central Committee has for some time now been organizing special discussions for party members during which members and other cadres analyze "positions" and answer questions (as is also done in the columns of RIZOSPASTIS). These discussions will be followed by meetings on the KOV /Base Party Organizations/ level where there will be voting on "positions," as well as election of delegates for the Cells, Cities and Regions Conferences.

More numerous and more difficult are criticisms on the "outward" presence of the party, the functioning of the organizations, the activity of the cadres, the appearance of the parliamentary group, etc. Indeed, in some letters published in RIZOSPASTIS, the central committee is criticized because it does not analyze and does not refer more to the causes for these issues on "positions."

Others (party members and also the unaffiliated) call for a radical renovation of the parliamentary group judging that its presence in the Chamber of Deputies is not what it should be. They also call for improving the appearance of party representatives on television and for putting an end to the continuous and monotonous repetition of ideological "cliches," etc.

With regard to the issue of changes occurring in the Soviet Union at this time, the situation is clearer:

All agree with M. Gorbachev's reforms. No one has come out openly to express any reservations about them. (This is something that did not happen in 1956 at the 20th congress and Krushchev's "destalinization." Opposition at that time was great both in the KKE organization abroad as well as in the EDA, the prisons and places of exile).

The same can be said about RIZOSPASTIS that devotes many pages to explain changes taking place in the USSR (some sentences on the order of "Zakharov has abandoned the place where he lived 7 years ago" that were written originally must be attributed, according to what those in the KKE say, "to extreme zeal" on the part of a sole editor and do not at all express the newspaper's position). M. Gorbachev's speeches are printed in full, all views being expressed in the USSR are appended, while RIZOSPASTIS' recently published survey is characteristic of the situation.

There are differences of opinion as to whether criticism should be voiced in the existing socialist countries.

Certain people maintain that dialogue and criticism within communist parties must be conducted openly and that any negative phenomenon or "distortion of socialism" existing in these countries must be stigmatized because "communists must not be afraid of the truth."

Others believe that "proletarian internationalism" prescribes that any possible disagreements must not be publicized so that the "class opponent" might not benefit.

Who wins? If we judge from the survey on the USSR published recently in RIZOSPASTIS it was rather the first view! As for the KKE, however, dialogue and views being expressed through it, we shall talk about them again.....

SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT ND VICTORY IN STUDENT ELECTIONS

Victory Confirmed

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 4 Apr 87 pp 1, 3

/Report by P. Panagiotopoulos/

/Excerpts/ The victory in the recent student elections of the student group allied to ND was yet another confirmation of the turnabout of the electorate. This conclusion stems from an evaluation of the results that put DAP /Democratic Renewal Vanguard/-NDFK /New Democratic Student Movement/ in first place with 31.38 percent of the vote, something that no other student group has been able to attain since 1974 and after. Mr K. Mitsotakis, ND leader, who made note of this political dimension yesterday, stressed that this student message constitutes a repetition of the political message in the recent municipal elections. He called on the government to resign. One of the significant elements in this student election was that DAP increased its strength in absolute numbers, a fact that confirms the internal turnabout of students from the government party faction to the one that is allied to the major government opposition party.

A second element is that, at least as far as students are concerned--who constitute a reflection of the electorate since students are not only voters but also actively politically-engaged citizens--neither the Greek-Turkish "crisis" nor "the rift with the church" had any effect on rallying on behalf of the government. A third element, indeed an encouraging one as far as gauging the political climate is concerned, is the fact that the preference expressed toward the liberal faction coincides with the peaceful student elections that were not marred by barren fanaticism.

Finally, the rise of DAP constitutes a confirmation of a more general cohesiveness of the liberal faction, regardless of the justified or not complaints that are naturally manifested in parties functioning in a democratic manner.

More specifically with regard to the student election results, we report the following:

This year's student elections that were held the day before yesterday (Thursday, 2 April) in AEI /Advanced Educational Institutions/ throughout the country have assumed a major political dimension.

Final results that were announced by EFEE /National Student Union of Greece/ yesterday noon have confirmed forecasts by I KATHIMERINI and show DAP-NDFK that is allied to ND as coming into first place with 31.38 percent of the vote compared to 30.38 percent for PSK /Pan-Student Trade Union Movement/ (KKE) and 18.27 percent for PASP /Panhellenic Militant Student Faction/ (PASOK) that suffered a terrible defeat.

The real extent of DAP-NDFK's victory is recorded in a most representative manner in the absolute number of votes each faction received. Despite the big drop in this year's election turnout DAP was the only faction that increased its strength, namely from 23,469 votes in 1986 to 24,737 in 1987, at a time when the other factions, not including PSK (KKE) that showed an increase in its percentage, suffered a drop in the overall number of votes each received.

According to political observers, the specific results, evaluated together with the fact that this year's student elections coincided with an ambiguous political occurrence, assume the nature of a most significant political message that must be carefully analyzed by the political parties particularly the government and the major government opposition party.

Indeed, as political observers stress, PASOK's big drop and ND's impressive rise must be evaluated without neglecting the fact that political developments that had been promoted (church issue, Greek-Turkish crisis) had ensured some, not paltry, advantages--as far as political impressions are concerned--to the government party since, for example, "the rift" with the church benefited PASOK in its endeavor to cover the lack of a self-reliant and independent political motive with a "radical" mantle and thus gave it hope that it would lessen the number of departures from its ranks to other factions.

Final results were as follows (figures in parentheses represent corresponding 1986 results):

Number casting votes: 80,258 (87,126)
Valid: 78,833
Invalid: 1,425
Left blank: 2,208 (2.8 percent)

Votes received: DAP-NDFK: 24,737 (23,469); 31.38 percent (28.72 percent).
PSK (KKE): 23,950 (24,906); 30.38 percent (29.35 percent). PASP (PASOK): 14,399 (17,293); 18.27 percent (20.38 percent). DA-DE (KKE Int.): 6,274 (8,643); 7.96 percent (10.18 percent). ADIK (DIANA): 722; 0.92 percent (1.47 percent). SSAK /Socialist Independent Student Movement/ (purged from PASOK): 383; 0.49 percent. "Those Rallying Together" (leftists): 3,243; 4.10 percent. Miscellaneous: 2,917; 3.7 percent.

As revealed from the above results, the strength of the various factions showed the following changes between 1986 and 1987:

DAP-NDFK, +2.66 percent.

PSK (KKE), +1.03 percent but a decrease in votes by 956 in absolute numbers.

PASP (PASOK), -2.11 percent and loss of votes amounting to 2,894.

DA-DE /Democratic Struggle-Democratic Unity), -2.22 percent and a 2,369 vote loss.

ADIK/Free Democratic Movement (DIANA) /Democratic Renewal, 0.53 percent.

As shown, the increase in abstentions mainly damaged the factions of the Left because DAP, despite this fact, actually increased the absolute number of its votes.

A second reading of the results leaves the impression that there must have also been some movement of PASP voters to DAP, at least those in higher age brackets. If this were to be proved true, then it would lend even greater political dimension to the electoral message provided by the student elections.

Another factor that must be mentioned is that DAP-NDFK showed a big rise (up to 3 percent) in schools that specialize in those areas not leading to civil service employment. As, for example, in many branches of polytechnic schools, law schools medical schools, etc. On the other hand, in those schools that provide courses leading to civil service employment DAP's rise was more limited.

DAP-NDFK also came out well in TEI /Technological Training Institutes student club elections throughout the country that were held at the same time as student elections.

TEI election results were as follows:

Number voting: 30,011

Valid: 29,651

Invalid: 360

Left blank: 465

Votes received:

PSK (KKE): 9,891 (33.35 percent)

DAP (ND): 8,447 (28.48 percent)

PASP (PASOK): 7,430 (25.07 percent)

DA (KKE Int.): 1,658 (5.6 percent)

ADIK (DIANA): 246: (0.83 percent)

Miscellaneous and "Those Rallying Together": 1,498 (5.04 percent)

Reasons for Realignment

Athens TO VIMA in Greek 5 Apr 87 p 11

/Report by G. Lakopoulos

/Text In April 1985, "the post-dictatorship period" for the university and student movement definitely came to an end. Student election results of that year brought--even though with many questions--DAP, the ND faction, which had a rear-guard role up to that time, as claimant to first place.

Two years later, namely April 1987, it appears that "the period of Change" also ended. DAP has definitely come into first place while PASP has fallen for good into third place, with a very big difference from PSK that now holds second place. And by coincidence "the lies ended" for PASOK's student faction exactly on the expiration of April 1st.

The electoral map of the student movement tends to make permanent those characteristics that appeared last year for the first time, the year of PASP's first spectacular drop. Those who had the illusion that that first drop was accidental, or those who believed that the good climate for the government at that time--because of the government's handling of the Greek-Turkish issues--would be translated into a corresponding increase in PASP's electoral strength, were disillusioned.

In PASOK's top echelon levels "they are finding solace" in the idea that PASP's drop was in the long run not smaller than expected and they are whispering a phrase enunciated by Prime Minister Papandreou at a recent meeting of the executive office about a "worldwide phenomenon of a conservative turn by youth." But as soon as they cross the threshold of Kharilaou Trikoupi Street they realize that the 18.27 percent and the 3,181 lesser votes than last year must be attributed to some other cause.

Of course, correlations in a student movement do not exactly reflect more general political correlations but without any doubt last year's and this year's results show that more and more youth or at least students are distancing themselves greatly from the government. PASOK is condemned to pay for the extension of its stay in government by getting the natural opposition of young people to any government. And since those now studying at the university know no other party in government other than PASOK their opposition is channeled to the political system of power that it itself had established.

This year's student elections held in the midst of apathy of a pre-election period, a smaller turnout than last year's but nevertheless still high, the loss of the basic trade union characteristics of the various factions and their influence from the more general political situation both in and out of the universities provided some new conclusions including the following:

First of all, the evaluation that the student body now has electoral characteristics and that youth is rallying around models that are different from those of the past has now been confirmed. More specifically, with regard to the a drop in PASP's strength, it now appears that government policy inspires the more crucial social area less and less.

Secondly, demonstrations and mobilizations by the parties have very little influence over the electoral preferences of students. It is characteristic that while PASOK conducted widespread mobilization work throughout the country with speeches delivered by party cadres, PASP in the long run did not benefit from anything. On the other hand, apathy--and also internal problems in ONNED /Youth Organization of New Democracy/--on the part of ND did not hinder its student faction from winning points in the elections.

Thirdly, the calm atmosphere in which the students voted shows that as the student movement moves away from its "glorious" past it is losing that old militancy that rendered its intervention in more general developments greatly and something to be reckoned with. Students now merely vote.

Fourthly, controlled polarization and restrained confrontation among the various factions did not favor PASP.

Fifthly, the 7,500 fewer students who voted in the AEI this year, reversing the current of high participation observed in the past few years, as well as the number of blank and invalid votes, shows that there is within the student movement a current to be reckoned with that "is not accommodated" by the pandering pre-electoral speeches by parties.

Besides these points, this year's elections rendered a separate sort of fate for each of the factions. PASP saw itself losing two more percentage points and more than 3,000 votes, without, indeed, getting first place in any school or in any city whatsoever. Also, it nowhere registered any increase in number of votes or percentages. In Athens, it obtained 16.17 percent of the vote compared to 18.61 percent in 1986. In Salonica, it was limited to 17.24 percent compared to 21.65 percent in 1986 and 26.54 percent in 1985.

DAP was the big gainer in the elections since it managed to limit the influence of the ambitious ADIK. It was the only faction that, besides the three percentage points, increased its strength by 400 votes. In Athens, compared to 28.8 percent it received in 1986 it rose to 30.36 percent this year, but in Salonica its 30.9 percent in 1986 dropped slightly to 30.72 percent in 1987. Also in Salonica, it lost about 500 votes while in Athens, although it did raise its percentage, it had some 600 votes less than last year.

PSK increased its strength by more than one percentage point but it also lost more than 1,000 votes. In Athens, it received 31.2 percent, a little less than last year, but it lost 1,500 votes. In Salonica, despite the fact that it lost 250 votes, it went from 27.49 percent in 1986 to 28.16 percent this year.

DA-DE also experienced a big drop similar to that of PASP. From 10.14 percent and 8,727 votes it received in 1986, this year it dropped to 7.96 percent and received 6,274 votes.

ADIK showed that it did not have the strength to threaten DAP despite ONNED's problems that indicated that they would benefit from it. The meager 1.46 percent and 1,237 votes it received in 1986 decreased to 772 votes and 0.92 percent this year.

In the TEI, the situation was somewhat different. Here, PSK held on to first place by increasing its strength from 32.72 percent to 33.35 percent. DAP rose from 26.6 percent last year to 28.48 percent this year. PASP had some slight losses dropping from 27.10 percent to 25.07 percent. DA-DE dropped from 6.13 percent to 5.6 percent. ADIK also suffered a small drop.

The characteristic point in the student elections is that this year more students voted than last year, something that should be attributed to increased interest brought about by the ESEE congress. PSK and DAP increased their strength slightly and in absolute numbers, while PASP and DA-DE lost a few hundred votes.

**ADVANCED EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION
ELECTION RESULTS**

	PASP (1)	PSK (2)	DAP (3)	DA (4)	AASPE (5)	PPSP (6)	Those Rallying Together	ADIK (7)	Misc.
1974									
Voted: 23,863	24.37	19.74	16.04	19.6	-	3.75	-	-	2.64
1975									
Voted: 45,460	28.7	26.67	16.42	17.7	3.65	4.39	-	-	4.65
1976									
Voted:	25.8	26.9	11.5	16.9					
1977									
Voted: 47,743	22.15	27.0	13.21	21.36	4.0	4.89	-	-	3.22
1978									
Voted: 50,000	26.76	29.65	11.76	16.21	3.12	5.23	-	-	1.9
1979									
Voted: 50,641	26.42	30.81	10.39	12.48	2.0	5.61	-	-	-
1980									
Voted: 51,517	25.68	30.20	10.0	7.9	-	5.5	10.8	-	-
1981									
Voted: 48,711	25.5	31.60	11.9	9.6	-	2.3	9.4	-	4.56
1982									
Voted: 53,065	26.3	31.3	12.7	13.6	-	-	6.2	-	5.04
1983									
Voted: 57,845	24.5	30.3	18.1	14.6	-	-	4.5	-	6.3
1984									
Voted: 73,700	25.5	28.7	22.7	13.3	-	-	3.71	-	2.67
1985*									
Voted: 84,700									
PASP	27.38	27.19	26.92	11.8	-	-	5.34	-	-
PSK	26.3	26.9	26.6	11.4	-	-	3.7	-	2.8
DAP	28.56	27.12	27.23	11.39	-	-	3.02	-	3.68
DA	26.8	27.1	27.0	12.24	-	-	1.8	-	2.7
1986									
Voted: 87,700	20.43	29.13	28.29	10.14	-	-	-	1.46	3.48
1987									
Voted: 80,258	18.27	30.38	31.38	7.96	-	-	4.11	0.92	3.70

* In 1985, each faction gave its own version of the results. The table reflects these contested results as each faction gave them.

Key:

1. Panhellenic Militant Student Faction
2. Pan-Student Trade Union Movement
3. Democratic Renewal Vanguard
4. Democratic Struggle
5. Anti-Imperialist Antifascist Student Faction of Greece
6. Progressive Pan-Student Trade Union Faction
7. Free Democratic Movement

TECHNOLOGICAL TRAINING
INSTITUTES ELECTIONS

	PASP	PSK	DA	DAP	ADIK	Miscellaneous
1984	6,991 31.48	7,697 34.56	1,692 7.62	4,568 7.62	-	1,000 3.04
1985	8,886 31.40	8,100 31.11	2,033 7.18	7,186 25.38	-	1,146 4.04
1986	7,953 27.10	9,601 32.72	2,004 6.13	7,806 26.6	272 0.92	1,315 4.48
1987	7,430 25.07	9,899 33.35	1,658 5.6	8,447 28.48	206 0.83	1,498 5.4

5671

CSO: 3521/102

CONSEQUENCES OF PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS FOR COALITION, LUBBERS

Editorial on Election Results

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 19 Mar 87 p 9

[Editorial: "Government Coalition Gets a Rap"]

[Text] To the extent that provincial elections provide interesting data at the national level, which they do, the government coalition was given a serious warning yesterday, although probably not quite a tragic one yet. The coalition lost 50 of its 416 provincial seats (CDA lost five, VVD lost 45). It is likely that at the indirect, but for the first time complete, reelection of the First Chamber in June the coalition will see its majority shrink from 44 to 38 or 39 seats. Hence the new development did not lead to the previously often discussed possibility of opposite majorities in the two chambers of the States General, of a kind of Dutch cohabitation, but it was a close thing.

Now coalition losses could be absorbed, following the extraordinary good provincial elections of 1982 of the VVD and the extraordinarily bad ones of the PvdA at the time. But nevertheless, even though there are risks involved in such comparisons, compared with the Second Chamber elections of May of last year the CDA and (once again) the VVD were hard hit. In terms of this party's internal discussions on its position it should be noted that its band wagon is still going the wrong way. At the advent of his second administration last year, Prime Minister Lubbers did foresee a few internal coalition problems due to the damage suffered by the VVD among the voters. He should know, and perhaps yesterday he became even more concerned about this.

As a matter of fact, anyone who goes a little further in this national conversation will note that the small losses and small gains registered by opposition parties such as the PvdA and the D'66 [Democrats '66] can be mutually scratched out. Added to the low turnout of 65.3 percent--another worrisome indication in spite of the bad weather--an image was thus forced upon us yesterday of a moderately interested corps of voters who did not intend to give priority to the claims of one block or another in Dutch politics. Apparently, the importance of the first news of the complete Senate elections, or of the debate within parliament of the possible consequences of such a move did not excite the voters all that much either.

As a matter of fact, the maintenance of the government majority on "the other side of parliament" is based on a 48.5 percentage of votes. Which goes to illustrate that it is certainly risky in an election to make all kinds of speculations before the clever mathematicians have had their final say about the significance of the results. The fact that around midnight NOS [Netherlands Broadcasting Foundation] broadcast a lengthy debate among four national notables on the question of how the administration should act now that it had lost its majority in the Senate, was comical given the immediately following announcement that the coalition had maintained its majority of seats there anyhow. Which did not alter the fact that Messrs Lubbers and Voorhoeve, in the name of the CDA and the VVD, had already let it be known earlier that, if necessary, they would be willing, in the interest of forming a majority, to put some opposition water here and there in the government wine.

That sounds very constructive—it is sometimes called dialogue—but anyone who expects a clear policy from a parliamentary majority and a clear struggle from the opposition, will still feel his stomach churn somewhat.

In the past, the results of provincial elections have on occasion led to anxiety within the national government coalition, or even to its fall. The last example is that of 1982, when the second Van Agt administration fell. Hence, a condition, which was fulfilled at the time, must be that the opposition must do markedly better than the government parties. That condition was not met yesterday; as a matter of fact, it remained—partly due to the low turnout percentage—more of a general warning. The newly elected members of the provincial states, who yesterday evening heard their national officials talk at length for the last time about the great importance of the provinces, can simply get to work without delay. They may assume that the warmth of the Hague will soon start to decrease again.

Lubbers Content With Results

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 19 Mar 87 p 9

[Article by Hubert Smeets: "Freer Role After Provincial Elections--Played into the Hands of the Prime Minister"]

[Text] The prime minister could of course not be more than simply satisfied. As a matter of fact, the results of the provincial elections were "cut very thin." But dissatisfied, no, that Prime Minister Lubbers was not at all. It did not seem to bother him all that much. The verdict of the meager turnout of voters required at most greater navigational skills, the search for a "balance." In one area the administration should have the courage to relinquish its portfolios, in another it would have to take into account specifically the various majorities and take a "step back." That was the scenario outlined yesterday evening by the prime minister. With some satisfaction even. One would even think that he felt as if the election results had played in his hands.

Lubbers has always seen himself more as prime minister of the Netherlands than as the leader of the CDA. Starting today he can lend even more color to his preference for the former position. Now that the coalition is somewhat under pressure, due to the continuing electoral decline of the VVD, the prime minister will be able to dedicate himself with even greater reason to his responsibilities which go beyond the interests of the confessional-liberal coalition.

Freer Role

He also needs that freer role, even more urgently than during the first Lubbers administration. That administration simply had to implement an economic recovery; its task was to quickly cut through knots so that it would finally be possible to economize. At this time such a primary understanding of its tasks would be inadequate. The cutting of savings, that is no longer a pure question of accounting, but it has also become a structural question. Four year measures or all kinds of detailed savings no longer provide solace over time.

There has to be more thought in structural terms, plans must be made to break through the traditional patterns of organization and systems in society. The institutions of the major social groups can no longer be spared by definition. The greying of society and health care require intellectual rather than financial input. Technological renewal must not merely be an idol to which everyone renders lip service.

The ministerial team itself was not quite equipped for that shift. Many ministers are still too stuck on the role which had to be played in the recovery administration. In the previous period the ministers of the spending departments were so oriented toward the financial aspect of their policy that now they first have to lose the habit before they can think about broader movements.

The government agreement was actually still one of the after pains of the Lubbers I administration, even though it was somewhat less rigid in tone and intent than the previous agreement. The parties feel tied to it and so far the parliamentary parties have not given the impression that they want anything different.

Unrest

Early this year already, the disappointing economic developments and the stagnation in the reduction of official unemployment led to some unrest within the ranks of the CDA and the VVD. For fear of unexpected events, everybody still controlled himself last week during the socio-economic debate in the Second Chamber. The tone was mild, partly because the political answers have not become crystallized as yet.

Yesterday's election results could further contribute to this. With the results in hand, Prime Minister Lubbers could in any case try to kill two birds with one stone. With the prognosis of the Central Planning Office in mind he could urge his coalition to greater austerity, with all the consequences in terms of tax reductions, reduction of working hours and far-reaching savings in their departments. And at the same time he can allow himself greater latitude to once in a while jump in the direction of the PvdA or the D'66, leaving his own party colleagues and liberal coalition partners behind in surprise.

Even though the election results were not all that favorable for the Christian democrats, Lubbers does not need to be troubled by that. The fact that many of those who did not vote in the provincial elections could be recruited last year for his "job" but not now for that of the provincial list heads, could strengthen his position. Nor does the fact that many voters, who were asked by Intromart, suddenly could no longer remember who they voted for last year (Lubbers?) detract from it. As a matter of fact, last year's "Lubbers effect" is precisely given more shine by it. And thus the prime minister can afford once in a while to stand above the parties, as behooves a statesman.

Up to now there has been scarcely any talk of that. This was partly due to the old oppositions between the PvdA and the CDA, but also to the lack of contact between Kok and Lubbers. They have not broken down each other's doors at all over the last 9 months. The more loosely the prime minister can operate, the more easily this surly attitude can be broken through.

As a matter of fact, it could put the three major parties in a difficult position. CDA parliamentary party leader De Vries is still led by his heartfelt dislike of the PvdA, even though economically speaking he is not all that far removed from the social democrats. A free wheeling prime minister would not make things easier for him.

If Lubbers wants to be more flexible about the government agreement, then the VVD will have to ask itself how tenacious it wants to be in hanging on to it. "If you break it, you pay for it," is also the saying in those circles. The liberals have had to pay so much already in recent years. Furthermore, a shift toward the center does not guarantee success beforehand, certainly not as long as Van Mierlo determines the position of the D'66.

And what about the PvdA? Parliamentary party leader Kok glowed with self-confidence yesterday. But in fact, the social democrats are still on the defense. Not so much because once again they lost voters to the small leftist parties--because of the extremely low turnout this loss is to a certain extent an optical illusion--but especially because this wave movement emphasizes the dilemma of the PvdA so much. When push comes to shove those voters on the left will indeed vote for the PvdA, but sometimes their heart speaks a different language.

If the PvdA could count on a coherent union movement which knew what it wanted, then this problem could perhaps be softened. But that cannot be said of the FNV [Netherlands Trade Unions Federation] either. It makes it difficult to make a choice in the strategy debate. All the more so as the PvdA is ideologically also stagnant. So far, the debates about coupling, the cruise missiles and other subjects which suddenly floated to the surface following last year's "victory defeat," have remained primarily discussions with their own past, with the seventies. The leftwing voters may still feel attracted by that, those in the middle no longer do. And after all, that is the hunting ground for all major parties, is it not?

The VVD has also recognized this now. This week, Voorhoeve has already cautiously made some turning movements. The others, including the CDA, will have to follow. But Prime Minister Lubbers has the initiative.

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CSO: 3614/54

CONSERVATIVE, LABOR ON STOLTENBERG, APPOINTMENT

Stoltenberg on Disarmament, EC

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 12 Mar 87 p 3

[Interview by Hans Chr. Erlandsen: "Flexible Stoltenberg Back Where He Thrives Best"]

[Text] "I make no secret of the fact that I think Norway should have been in the EC."

"NATO's Council has throughout the years become a continually more important organ for a Norwegian foreign minister."

"We in Western Europe must also stand fast behind the negotiated offer in the double resolution of 1979."

The main job on the political scene has definitely been decided for Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg. He is back where he thrives best: in the international arena.

Foreign Minister Stoltenberg intends to continue the foreign policy line from Trygve Lie through Halvard Lange to Knut Frydenlund.

What is Norwegian foreign policy?

"It is to protect our interests in the large unity that is somewhat vaguely called the international community," the newly appointed minister said. How this is to be done he divides into two parts:

Good Defense

"From a purely defensive point of view we must see to it that no one is tempted to attack our country. We do this by means of a good defense force and membership in NATO. From this we turn to the outgoing interest in relaxation of tensions; our contribution to prevent the occurrence of situations that can bring our country into war, and to create lasting cooperation for peace in Europe and the rest of the world."

The chairman of the Labor Party's foreign policy committee is not much interested in solid resolutions on how the world should act. "It is good to remember that we only make up a thousandth of the world's population, and that our foreign trade is less than one percent of world trade. Such facts show quite clearly that Norway is a country that from the beginning has little influence. At the same time, the fact that half of what we sell is to foreign countries and that half of what we consume comes from abroad shows our great dependence on the surrounding world," the foreign minister pointed out.

Sit at the Table

"Our method is therefore to participate when decisions of significance for our country are made. It is important for Norway to be able to assure that the negotiation table exists and that we sit at it. This has been part of Norwegian foreign policy since the war."

Erlandsen: "Lange once said that NATO's council was the most important organ for a Norwegian foreign minister."

Stoltenberg: "It has not become less so today. It is the only international organ where we can discuss our security."

Stoltenberg does not hide the fact that much goes on in the EC that Norway should have taken part in. He is particularly interested in the security policy discussions in the community. There is discussion there, among other things, of the expanded American interpretation of the ABM agreement and the goal of an early deployment of the weapon in connection with SDI. "I will not hide the fact that I think we should have taken part in all the discussions between Western Europe and the U.S. on such questions."

Stoltenberg easily gets eager with this discussion going on all around him.

Problem

"I see the developments in the EC as a growing problem for Norway, which is not taking part. Especially now when an acceleration of foreign policy cooperation in the community is taking place. We are not sitting at the table, even if we are geographically taking part."

Erlandsen: "When will the long predicted Storting report on Norway's relationship to Europe appear?"

Stoltenberg: "I cannot promise when I will finish it and a report on security policy and disarmament questions."

Erlandsen: "Knut Frydenlund's greatest accomplishment in recent times was perhaps that he created foreign policy peace in the Storting and brought the Labor Party back to a moderate foreign policy line?"

Stoltenberg: "It has always been moderate. The so-called missile position in the Labor Party from 1983 and the position the Storting's foreign policy committee worked out in 1984 on our security policy are important documents that form the basis of our present policy."

Dissent

Erlandsen: "But it had a dissent. The nonsocialist parties disagreed with the Labor Party on the question of the deployment of intermediate range missiles on the Western side. Has not General Secretary Gorbachev in his most recent negotiating move confirmed the nonsocialist position?"

Stoltenberg: "No one knows whether we could have reached our goal with strategies other than the one that was followed. The most important thing is that we are now looking forward. Everyone must be happy with the development that has now taken place at the negotiating table on this question. The whole point in the double resolution in 1979 was the goal of a zero solution, that is, no deployment on either side. The most important thing is to achieve this."

Erlandsen: "Many of your West European colleagues will disagree with you and claim that the West should retain some of the missiles to balance the conventional imbalance in Europe?"

Stoltenberg: "I hope that the European countries will stand fast on the negotiated part of the double resolution. The goal it had must also be preserved in 1987."

Erlandsen: "Will we reach the point where conventional disarmament will become more important than nuclear disarmament?"

Stoltenberg: "The goal of a conventional strength reduction must be to reach an approximate balance on a lower level than today. This will be the best basis for continuing the work with nuclear disarmament as well. An important reason why this disarmament is going so slowly is of course the fact that many fear the conventional imbalance."

Disarmament

Stoltenberg points out that we now have possibly the most tangible possibility of disarmament in the post-war period. The foreign minister has optimism as a guide for his activity. Belief in it helps. It must help, he thinks. The international community must be built with patience and bit by bit. One traffic regulation after another must be introduced to establish the necessary control.

One of Stoltenberg's strongest assets is that everyone believes he means what he says. Few if any become angry at the urbane, easy to get along with man from Oslo's best west side. He wants to become the teflon minister in the present government, the last one to be burned.

Erlandsen: "Was there a cross-political satisfaction that you were named?"

Stoltenberg: "Yes, I am very glad about this. A foreign minister must have broad support at home. It is valuable to take along with one's work and a good thing for oneself. But there can be boomerangs. 'Frydenlund would never have done that,' one will say."

Take on Troubles

Erlandsen: "Halvard Lange said once, 'I was willing to take on troubles internally, that is, in domestic politics, in order to prevent Norway from getting troubles. Others may see it differently and be willing for Norway to take on troubles externally to avoid political problems at home.' Is this more of a current problem today?"

"Troubles at home can be greater today than they were in his time," Stoltenberg said, who worked closely with Lange. "Naturally the Norwegian footnote in NATO was a dilemma. It is my nature to work for unity. But a broad unity in Norway must be able to be followed up abroad even if this is unpleasant."

Erlandsen: "With the movement in the disarmament negotiations a Nordic nuclear free zone has probably become less timely?"

Stoltenberg: "No. The laborious work for such a zone must not stop or be reduced."

Erlandsen: "Will you return as a main figure for the Labor Party in Oslo?"

Stoltenberg: "I am withdrawing as a leader, but I will continue on the slate of candidates."

Comments on Terrorism, NATO Weaknesses

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 14 Mar 87 p 18

[Interview by Halvor Elvik: "Breakfast in Thorvald's World"]

[Text] The wooden table in the middle of the floor in the kitchen in Mogens Thorsens Street is one of the city's most pleasant breakfasting places. Very strong coffee in large percolators and fresh croissants from Delifrance in Bygdoy Avenue. And Thorvald carefully seeing to it that the coffee up never becomes empty.

But now Stoltenberg has expanded the work day and this time breakfast was before eight o'clock. This is before Delifrance opens, even in Bygdoy Avenue. Therefore just bread today. Besides this, his personal adviser Trond Bakkevig is at the door precisely at nine o'clock. The interview is over. The two of them will walk down together to Haakon the Seventh's Place and talk about South Africa.

The foreign minister is at work.

"In May we will invite a group of like-minded Western countries and some central developing countries together with the general secretary in UNCTAD to a meeting at the Refsnes estate before UNCTAD VII," Stoltenberg says with the joy of work radiating from his whole being as he shows the letter to General Secretary Kenneth Dadzie.

"When I sign a letter like this I really get a feeling of continuity."

Dadzie is also an old acquaintance. He was number two when Stoltenberg was chairman of the north-south committee in the UN.

But the counting has become a little confused. The foreign minister thought that the UNCTAD's had now reached number eight.

Yes, it becomes clear that Thorvald Stoltenberg has spent 30 years in foreign policy and only three in Oslo.

"But let me quickly add that this is something Knut Frydenlund had set in motion. It is not something I arranged since last Monday."

Overwhelming Days

In the corner of the kitchen there is a large pile of newspaper, wrapping paper, and cartons. Flowers are spread around the apartment.

"These have been overwhelming days. In the course of ten days my closest friend dies and during the shock and sorrow I come into focus as the new foreign minister. I am happy and thankful for the good will I have encountered everywhere. But I am well aware that this can quickly change and that I can be met with reactions such as 'Stoltenberg disappoints,' and 'Knut Frydenlund would never have done that.' Nevertheless I am really surprised at the support I have received. I truthfully thought that I was a more controversial person."

Stoltenberg was also hit by the strength and breadth of the reaction to Knut Frydenlund's death.

"When we drove away from the funeral in the church, the sidewalks were packed with people in Grensen. I believe that thousands of people loved Knut, people who did not know him personally, but who reacted to the loss because of a desire for security. He inspired security in actions, words, and character."

Elvik: "The choice of you as his successor has received support from KLASSEKAMPEN to Carl I. Hagen. How long can such a large coalition hold?"

Stoltenberg: "There is no way to create or hold such breadth in each individual foreign policy matter. Knut Frydenlund did not do this, either. But I hope to be able to maintain understanding and support for the main lines of the policy."

Small Steps

The new foreign minister has already upon accepting the office and in the first interviews expressed his well known optimism. One can carefully join optimism to small steps.

One becomes modest after a while. International progress takes a long time.

He does not say so directly, but underneath is certainly the recognition that when he was ten years younger he planned much more rapid changes, even improvements of the world's general misery when he worked for a new economic world order in the last half of the 1970's.

"We have got a new world, but no new order," he says now.

"And the less order we have, the more we live under the law of the strongest. Perhaps some may say now that what we tried to do was naive. But I do not agree that we should put aside large goals because the skeptics say they are naive. Today the world has grown out of the old order that was established after the peace in 1945. It was an order to which about 50 countries belonged. Today we deal with a world with 160 countries. I look upon this as a dramatic situation."

But the foreign minister does not want to make a list of the miseries.

"I intend to hold fast to the positive elements that are also there. One of them is the opportunity that lies in following up the recommendations in the Brundtland commission's report. Here there is a recognition worked out by persons from several countries that the problems we are confronted with go across national boundaries.

Developing countries find themselves being choked more and more because of their huge debts. Their own economic ability to trade is threatened, but so is the international monetary system. This situation has again and again been painted in gloomy colors, but Stoltenberg sees and points out positive factors in the picture as well.

"The seriousness of the situation is forcing broad, international solutions," he said.

Violence and Terror

Elvik: "Several times in the past ten years, also when you were defense minister, you have warned of the violence and terror that can become the reaction if the problems of poverty in the world are not solved. Do you think that some of this has now taken and is taking place?"

"The problem is to a great extent overlooked in the industrial countries, both in the East and the West. If we continue to treat the majority of people in the world as a charity problem, then I believe things can go very badly. We are against war among other reasons because of the squandering of human life it

involves. But in several countries in the world people are dying not from grenades and bombs, but from a lack of food and medicine. When the age of information brings you at the same time news on how things are in the world outside, it can lead to quite desperate reactions."

West-West

Elvik: "You are taking over the work with the Europe-Report that Knut Frydenlund left behind. Here an evaluation at home as well is necessary of the increased tension we have seen in recent years between Europe and the U.S. How do you look at the West-West dimension as it is called in foreign office language?"

"What makes me uncertain in my answer is that the tension in the Western alliance varies from issue to issue. It has to some extent gone between Europe and the U.S., as you say. But now an important matter is arising, perhaps one of the most important, namely the question of entering an agreement on removing all intermediate range nuclear missiles from Europe. Here there are signs that the dividing line runs somewhere in Europe. The U.S. and Norway, for example, are in complete agreement on the view that the missiles should be removed as soon as possible, while other European countries have expressed reservations. I see the mission of Norwegian foreign policy to work for less and not increased tension between the U.S. and Europe."

Elvik: "Is this possible with the present government in Washington?"

"I think we have to see another administration in the U.S. before we can see how serious the wounds are and how deep they go. But disagreement in itself is not frightening. The positive side of this is the effort in Europe to take greater responsibility, something that also makes necessary greater agreement. The problem has been that we here in Europe have had difficulties in agreeing to take responsibility in individual issues. Washington has received different advice, and has therefore been able to choose what it liked best."

Meet Gorbachev Positively

Elvik: "How do you evaluate the situation of the much discussed and more dominating East-West area right now?"

"I think no one can claim to have foreseen the development we are now witness to with the release of prisoners, departure, greater openness, which even includes criticism of the KGB in some areas, and that Gorbachev is turning around in an important disarmament issue. All this, seen individually, must be considered good. We do not know how deep it goes, whether it will succeed or continue. But we must meet the development constructively to see if it is honest, and if it is, we must support what takes place."

Elvik: "In the news this morning it was reported that the Soviets had exploded their second nuclear bomb in the course of a few weeks after the unilateral and voluntary test stop was cancelled."

"It is tragic and sad that we have not obtained a complete test stop agreement. I think that the best possibility of achieving a test stop agreement lies in the extension of a positive development in Geneva," Stoltenberg said.

He is obviously so happy with his job, just as he was 20 other times when he changed jobs up to now!

"But I have no Knut to call up."

A shadow of sorrow comes into his eyes.

Conservative Paper Lauds Appointment

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 19 Mar 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Good Luck!"]

[Text] Modesty and humility. It was with these words that Thorvald Stoltenberg expressed his own feelings when he took over as foreign minister yesterday after Knut Frydenlund. For our part we think that Stoltenberg was the best man one could find, both because of the Labor Party's own situation and the situation in general.

For several years Norwegian foreign and security policy was conducted with a one vote majority. The strong disagreements we have seen in the wake of the Labor Party's security policy glider flight is a reality every foreign minister must take into account. First of all there is need for Stoltenberg's ability and will to exercise leadership — internally with the Labor Party's left wing, and externally in discussions with the other parties. With the left wing, controversial issues are standing in line. His leadership abilities will be put to the test as early as the end of this month at the Labor Party's national congress.

Not the least it will be exciting to see how Stoltenberg will handle the question of the North as a nuclear weapons free zone. But if he is able to stand fast on the agreement made in the Storting under the Willoch government, there should be no problem. Here the conditions were laid down for a possible Nordic zone as part of a broader European solution. Unilateral Nordic discussions on such a zone should be a moral impossibility for the NATO countries Norway and Denmark. If one makes a mistake on this issue, one will find oneself in a mine field.

With his solid foreign and security policy experience, Stoltenberg has the best possible beginning to become a unifying foreign minister. It is certainly important that the selection was well met in all circles. As Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtlem quite correctly remarked yesterday, Stoltenberg is the natural selection. Besides his humble modesty, he also has many fine personal qualities.

We know him as a solid Social Democratic politician, securely placed on the foreign and security policy platform that through most of the post-war era has unified our responsible political parties. His qualifications are above all doubt. What only the future can reveal is whether he also has the strength necessary to stop the glider flight that unfortunately had developed in recent years. We wish him good luck.

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CSO: 3639/29

CENTER PARTY CONGRESS REVEALS LITTLE EAGERNESS FOR GOVERNMENT

Party Leaders Declare Will

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 12 Mar 87 p 5

[Article by Lars Hellberg and Thorleif Andreassen: "Jakobsen: Goal is to Form Government"]

[Text] "It will continue to be our goal to come into a governing position," Center Party's chairman, Johan J. Jakobsen, said to AFTENPOSTEN.

Recognition that the party is no longer moving forward as it was before the Willoch government was overthrown is spreading more and more to new groups. The opposition role does not give the influence quite a few imagined it would just after the change of governments. Tactical considerations cause those who are impatient to restrain themselves during the debate on the political situation.

Freedom of Action

Least of all do they wish to provoke those who seem to be happy in the role of opposition. The main thing is to assure the party leadership freedom of action when the situation arises that the Center Party must choose.

Jakobsen admits that there may be various ideas on how fast a change in government should come, even if the goal is definite. He thinks that the national congress will give support to the line the party leadership and the Storting group have chosen in the question of government. "The provision that the political basis must be clarified before we seek the power of government is, as far as I know, widely accepted," Jakobsen said.

Active Participation?

The question the impatient ones ask is this: "Shall we wait until the basis is clarified, or shall we actively see to it that the basis is laid in order to come into position again?" When the Center Party Youth in Oslo say that "As soon as possible a three-party government must be formed," the organization says aloud what many feel. "It is unnatural for the Labor Party to sit with control over the whole governmental apparatus when the nonsocialist majority

has the majority in the Storting. We are confident that a nonsocialist government can lead the country better than a Labor Party government," it says in a statement from the yearly county meeting.

Political Will?

"If there is political will, there will be a change of governments," County Organization Chairman Gyrd Nannestad said. He is also a member of the central leadership group of the Center Youth. In Alesund Nannestad intends to stress that the three former governing parties must show the will to come together. They cannot simply let the time go by. "If the question of government simply drifts, we risk losing the Storting elections in 1989. And in a situation with a nonsocialist minority in the Storting, the Labor Party will not consider us," Nannestad said.

Questions

Even if the Center Party is mainly occupied with defining its own positions, it is clear that the question of government cannot be swept under the rug. When the delegates gather in Alesund today they know that they will be followed with tense alertness. The questions asked are these: Where does the Center Party stand and what does the Center Party want?

The national congress cannot develop unless these central questions are answered. The demand for a clarification is strengthened by the fact that the government is presenting its tax report as early as this Friday. The report will cause the opposition in economic policy, particularly tax policy, to be accentuated greatly.

In addition to the question of government, district policy will be a main issue for the national congress, but for the districts as well the general economic development, characterized by the double digit price increases, will be of decisive importance.

Jakobsen Denies Party Obstacle

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 13 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Odd Inge Skjævesland: "Continued Belt-Tightening"]

[Text] Alesund. In 1988 as well the belt-tightening policy must continue. Both private and public consumption must be included in this. Private saving must be stimulated. Tax reform must contain a change toward increased gross taxes. The Center Party is not a brake on a nonsocialist government.

Center Party Chairman Johan J. Jakobsen stressed these points in his opening speech to the party congress in Alesund yesterday evening.

Jakobsen was in sharp disagreement in his speech with National Labor Union Chairman Leif Haraldseth's position on agricultural income goals. He called it

ominous when more and more say that the economy's income goals cannot apply to 1987 because of the present economic situation.

"Agriculture's income goals have been a steady point in Norwegian agricultural policy since the middle of the 1970's. The basis is now beginning to give way," Jakobsen said.

Both adherents and opponents of a rapid change in government could find consolation in the party leader's speech. He stressed that the Center Party must show the will to responsibility as an opposition party as well. At the same time he stated clearly that it would be better for the Center Party to be in a governing position.

New Government?

Jakobsen denied that his party had been a brake on a change in government. "Such views must come from the fact that we have not participated as much as others in the verbal "repetition exercises" on the will to governmental power. This is not an expression of a lack of will to govern! The Center Party wants a stable and effective government alternative that can last the whole term. But as long as the political basis is not clarified, we will hardly serve the cause by constantly creating the impression that a change of government is just around the corner," Jakobsen said.

Jakobsen repeated the Center Party's strong criticism of the government's handling of the wage agreement, which among other things provided for a reduction in work time that the party thought we could not afford. "And there is a huge difference between the district policy the Labor Party expressed in opposition and the proposals the Labor Party has presented to the Storting," the party leader said.

"No task is more important today than to build up the Norwegian economy," the Center Party chairman said. He said that the Norwegian economy is in a crisis. Nor did Jakobsen allow the Willoch government, of which he himself was a member, go free: "There are few who can call themselves completely guiltless in the economic situation we find ourselves in. The economic development in 1985 and 1986 was too expansive," he said.

The Center Party leader said that the three former governing partners have not been able to chisel out a common political basis for a new government of the Conservative Party, the Christian People's Party, and the Center Party. He pointed out that the government for its part has neglected to challenge the Storting when conflict has arisen.

"In the face of political pressure from the center, the government has chosen to keep its hobbyhorses in the stall. This was made clear, for example, during work on the budget last fall," he said. ,

Distance

He said that the Labor Party has to a great extent recognized and taken the consequences of the fact that the center makes up a political center of gravity. Concerning the Conservative Party on this point, Jakobsen said: "Instead of turning its gaze toward the center -- as the district Conservatives want -- the Conservative Party in the Storting has staked out a course that creates greater distance between it and the center parties and that from time to time meets with appreciative applause from Carl I. Hagen!"

Nuclear Weapons

Jakobsen hopes for a quick agreement on the reduction of the nuclear arsenals in Europe. He pointed out that Norway supports the proposal, which has as its goal the removal of all nuclear intermediate range missiles in Europe.

"We must go farther. The shorter range nuclear weapons should also be included in an agreement," the Center Party leader said.

The districts

"This national congress must have as its goal the reestablishment of the belief that the districts are viable entities. We must dust off the concept of decentralization as a political idea," Jakobsen said.

Tax Policy Disagreement Cited

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Thorleif Andreassen: "Center Party Not Pushing for Change"]

[Text] The party leadership has obtained broad support for its position on the question of governing. The political basis between the three nonsocialist parties must be clarified before governmental discussions begin. No time limits have been set. On the contrary, satisfaction has been expressed with what the Center Party has accomplished in the Storting, thanks to a compromise-willing Labor Party.

"A change in government has not come closer after this meeting, neither politically nor from a point of view of time," Center Party Chairman Johan J. Jakobsen said at the press conference Sunday after the party's national congress.

The Center Party leadership thinks that the tax system is an important political element and hopes that the three former governmental parties can find a common position. Jakobsen says that he does not want to be so categorical as to say that if the three cannot agree, then all bridges to cooperation will be burned. He makes no secret of the fact that the Center Party wants the broadest possible cross-political unity on taxes and economic policy.

The party's parliamentary leader, Johan Buttedahl, says for his part that if the Conservative Party demands too much unity on every single item in a non-socialist tax position, then it is the Conservative Party that puts limits on governmental cooperation.

Labor Party With Key

In many ways it was felt at the Center Party national congress that it is Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland who sits with the key to the question of government. They say that the time for a change depends to a great extent on the government's respect for the Storting majority. Buttedahl pointed out that the Labor Party has tried to follow a policy that the Center Party can accept. "The Labor Party has often shown an almost self-effacing will to accomplish this," he said.

In Spring?

AFTENPOSTEN: Is it your hope that a change in government can come in connection with a revised national budget in spring, Johan J. Jakobsen?

Jakobsen: I do not want to pin my hopes for a change to any one single issue or time. If we agree and the political basis is cleared up, there will be no reason to postpone the change. If we should reach agreement on a tax policy and an economic policy next fall, the change in government could be then," the Center Party chairman said.

Possibly Last Jakobsen Reelection

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Odd Inge Skaevesland]

[Text] Alesund. Johan J. Jakobsen was reelected as party chairman at the Center Party's national congress on Saturday, but it was possibly for the last time. Some key Center Party politicians are dissatisfied with the preparations for a successor. Anne Enger Lahnstein moved up to first vice-chairman after Johan Buttedahl, while Kristin Hille Valla was elected second vice-chairman.

It is now eight years since Jakobsen succeeded Gunnar Stalsett as party chairman. At the next national congress in two years the Center Party may have to elect a new chairman. Jakobsen is strong in his party. But there is a certain apprehension that both he and the party's parliamentary leader, Johan Buttedahl, will retire from national politics after this session of the Storting.

Several key Center Party politicians point out that the party chairman should always be an appropriate candidate for prime minister. They told AFTENPOSTEN that this is an argument against Anne Enger Lahnstein, whom others think clearly has crown princess status.

Many in the Center Party are afraid that Johan J. Jakobsen wants to retire from the Storting and the party chairmanship after the election in two years and become, perhaps, the county chairman of North Trondelag. But then he must be prepared to withstand strong pressure to continue as the Center Party's number one elected representative.

The choice of a successor will depend upon the direction the party takes. The national congress gave warning that there will be problems for those most friendly to the Conservative Party when the new central committee members were elected. The election committee unanimously supported Mayor Kolbjorn Dahlin in Ballangen in Nordlund for the central committee. But Arne Botnes from Finnmark almost defeated the successful Ballangen mayor.

Dahlin belongs to the conservative wing of the Center Party and made a very defense-friendly speech in the general debate. He won by a thin 84-79 vote margin. Rotness just lacked five votes, and there were five abstentions. Dahlin therefore received exactly half the votes. Lars Velsand demanded another election, but the national congress rejected this.

Kolbjorn Dahlin is new, but the other four central committee members were almost unanimously reelected: Per Magnar Arnstad (Troms), Borghild Brennekasa (Telemark), Gudmund Restad (More and Romsdal), and Birgit Bolset (Sogn and Fjordane).

Alternate members will be: Thorleif Hellesoy (Hordaland -- new), Nils Skogstad (Ostfold -- new), Borghild Hillestad (Aust-Agder -- reelected), Johan Hogstad (South Trondelag -- reelected), and Brit Vingelsgaard Ryen (Hedmark -- new).

Storting Representative Lars Velsand from Oppland was replaced by Kolbjorn Dahlin as a regular member of the central committee.

Conservative Paper Assesses Congress

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Mar 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Hope on the Line"]

Among those interested in politics both to the right and the left of the traditional dividing lines in Norwegian politics the Center Party's national congress in Alesund has naturally enough received special attention. Many have wondered where the party actually stands, not just on the government question, but also on key political issues. We can imagine that for all those who tried to follow the national congress negotiations in the press, radio, and television the impression the Center Party leaves is still highly confused.

Officially the party's position is that it wishes to enter a governing position as soon as the political basis supports the move. Their goal is, they say, a new ogvernment of the three former cooperating parties. So far everything is fine and dandy -- seen from a nonsocialist cooperative point of view. But in a situation in which the Labor Party sits in the governing position thanks to

the support of the middle parties, there is no Center Party leader who will say in understandable Norwegian when the time will come for a possible change in government.

We interpret -- with good will -- the Center Party to mean that it would like very much to cooperate. But in which direction? Is one to understand that the Center Party is more inclined to want to follow the Labor Party line in economic and tax policy than to cooperate with its former government partner, the Conservative Party? The question arises in full force after Johan J. Jakobsen saw fit to attack not the Labor Party as would be natural in this situation, but of all people, the Conservatives!

The Conservative Party knows how to answer best for itself. Still, we must be allowed to point out that it is a gross twisting of facts to blame the Conservative Party for turning to the right as long as the party of Presthus and Syse is known to be the only one of the three governing parties that has consistently stood for the basic principles in the Willoch government policy. The change that took place after the government shift in May of last year is that the Center Party and the Christian People's Party have aligned themselves in the direction of the Labor Party. If the Conservative Party had taken the same position, it would have guaranteed the governing power for the Labor Party in the foreseeable future. Even in this confusing interim phase in Norwegian politics we must be allowed to assume that the nonsocialist voters do not want this.

When a well-known Center Party man such as Per Magnar Arnstad says to DAGBLADET that he cannot see any issues now that can lead to a change in government, "the way Gro is acting now," we assume that this position is not representative of the Center Party. We find ourselves in a fateful time for nonsocialist cooperation, and eventually this must certainly become clear for the cooperating party leaders as well. The need for a change in government seems clearer than ever before. If it should prove to be impossible to reestablish a non-socialist government alternative in the course of the spring session, we will then have to admit -- and take cognizance of the fact -- that the policy of cooperation has suffered shipwreck. We still prefer to believe that "there is hope on the line."

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CSO: 3639/27

FORMER PARTY HEAD ACCUSES U.S. OF STIRRING RELIGIOUS UNREST

Istanbul MILLI GAZETE in Turkish 31 Oct 86 pp 1, 11

[Interview with Necmettin Erbakan, leader of the defunct National Salvation Party by the correspondent of ISLAM; date and place unspecified]

[Text] Leader of the defunct National Salvation Party Necmettin Erbakan said: "Behind the smoke screens put up by the clamor of 'retrogression' shadowy affairs are being conducted." In an interview published in the January issue of the monthly ISLAM, Erbakan pointed out that during 86 the issue of 'retrogression' resurfaced at least 4 times -- once for every season. he argued that U.S. and CIA were masterminding all this and it was they who determined Turkey's political agenda. Erbakan also said, "We shouldn't have to deal with lies and ugliness all the time. We should be able to preoccupy ourselves with truth and beauty as well." Here is the interview as it appeared in ISLAM:

[Question] Honorable Professor, during the past month there has been a constant clamor in the press about 'retrogression'. The press has trivialized the matter to such an extent that we now have 'retrogression' on a seasonal basis -- summer retrogression, winter retrogression, etc. In 86, 'retrogression' was brought to the headlines every season for a duration of one month. What do you say about all this?

[Answer] I have tried not to answer questions from the press on these issues. As it so happens, this whole scene is manufactured by others and there have also been efforts to involve us in this. To avoid giving the impression that we are partaking in this game I have so far avoided talking to the press. But when it comes to publications like ISLAM I find it useful to discuss these issues so as to bring some clarity to the situation.

There are two points which require particular attention: Firstly, who determines Turkey's political agenda? This is a question which should concern all enlightened people and those who love their country. We believe that Turkey is facing many

problems today -- material ones as well as that of moral regeneration. Those who love their country should be out resolving these problems, suggesting solutions. There are major economic problems and people find it increasingly difficult to cope. Bankruptcies are following one another. Everything is much more expensive than in Europe, while our workers and public employees are paid one-tenth of their European counterparts. In a rich country like ours why should we be living through the disasters of poverty, want and unemployment? Before anything else this should be the number one priority. Similarly, Turkey should establish its defense industry and maintain good relations with its neighbors. Instead of the Western alliance, Turkey should enter into various alliances with Islamic countries. All these issues should be discussed and resolved in a cooperative manner. But instead we keep hearing the constant clang of contrived allegations which does no good except creating unrest within the country. This is misguided behavior. Such allegations are periodically made as you rightly pointed out, and for a specific purpose.

When we look at a recent episode we would see that a former CIA man had an important part to play in it. In a recent visit to Turkey this former CIA man, Paul Henze, said during a press conference. "The Turkish press should greet the arrival of Missouri not with anti-American attitudes but instead draw attention to the resurgence of retrogression." Shortly after he made these suggestions, accusations of retrogression started being hurled all over the place. The same CIA man, in a previous visit (19-23 March) to Turkey attending a conference on 'Democracy and Terrorism', offered praises for something in particular. And that was the campaign conducted by the Turkish press on 'retrogression'. He said: "The campaign in the Turkish press against extremist religious movements are appreciated in Washington." The interesting thing is that whenever the external forces have an issue they want settled to their advantage news of 'retrogression' fill the air. Allegations of 'retrogression' hurled at patriotic people have turned into an instrument of oppression, lately.

Recently the Turkish-U.S. bases agreement has been negotiated. Turkey is on the receiving end of a gross injustice over the bases issue. The present government has acknowledged this and made promises that it would be corrected. But now while people's attention is diverted by the contrived clamor, agreements unfavorable to Turkey are being concluded quietly; and behind the smoke screen of 'retrogression' Turkey's national and moral interests are being sacrificed. A closer examination reveals that the contrived clamor is nothing but a deliberately planned campaign to ensure that the interests of external forces are well-served. That is the naked truth.

[Question] I wish to bring another aspect into view. Both the 61 and 82 Constitutions have offered guarantees as to the freedom of conscience, opinion and belief. It was made explicitly clear that under no condition they could be trampled upon. Furthermore, Turkey has signed the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights which contains similar clauses. But despite all this, and in a country whose population happens to be 99 percent Muslim, there is religious oppression under the pretext of combating retrogression. Could you evaluate the issue from the perspective of law and democracy?

[Answer] You have touched upon a very important issue. As we said before, first an uproar is created with a specific purpose in mind, and later the uproar is presented in such a way as to make the believers appear guilty. But freedom of belief is a fundamental right guaranteed under the Constitution. That is made explicitly clear in the 82 Constitution. It is a fundamental right of everyone to practice one's religion and fulfill its obligations. But these campaigns paint such a picture that the fundamental rights of Muslims -- praying, teaching the Koran to one's children, raising them with moral standards -- are being presented as if they were crimes. This is a violation of the Constitution. Secularism does not mean animosity toward religion. In fact, hatred of religion is not sanctioned by secularism at all. Under the Constitution and other laws it is illegal to show enmity towards a religion or people belonging to that religion. There ought to be some punishment for those who violate the freedom of religion, to be encoded within Turkish Criminal Law. No one should be able to disturb the believers arbitrarily. That is the necessary condition of being a state of laws. Not to mention that Turkey is an Islamic country where 99 percent of the people are Muslims.

[Question] What kind of reaction should be expressed against such campaigns causing harm to Muslims who are trying to fulfill the demands of their faith? Particularly against the media who are the ones mostly responsible...

[Answer] The periodic enactment of campaigns to combat the so-called 'retrogression' has the effect of disrupting the climate of peace and security in the country. The people of this country love their nation, love their country and are attached to their religion. Creating artificial barriers between them and oppressing the believers would produce nothing but unrest. Freedom of worship is the most important of the fundamental rights. When you suppress religious faith the believers are bound to get frustrated and might be forced to react in some way. And that would lead to unrest. The first thing to do is for the press to abstain from annoying the believers and causing frustrations among them, under the pretext

of combating 'retrogression'. That would be a primary condition for establishing love and brotherhood among the people. As patriots this should be our number one duty.

Furthermore, modifications could be introduced into criminal law within the constitutional context so that those who intend to turn secularism into an anti-religious campaign are barred from doing so. If such legal measures are quickly taken and implemented, possible unrest would be prevented. It would mean that any redress on the part of those victimized because of their faith would be undertaken within the confines of law and legality.

And care must be taken not to let oneself be used by those with ulterior motives. Even taking time to dwell upon those news items may be considered as falling prey to the designs of others. So this is another point requiring attention. Do you know what would happen if people with common sense all did that? Well, when the schemers realize that nobody cares much about their unfounded and exaggerated 'retrogression' scares, they would no longer persist in that activity. What we should do is to preoccupy ourselves with beauty and truth rather than having to deal with lies and ugliness all the time. This is all I have to say.

12466

CSO: 3554/148

LEGISLATION ON ILLEGAL GUESTWORKERS TO BE ENACTED

Rome IL TEMPO in Italian 24 Jan 87 p 8

[Article by Maurizio Isita: "Illegal Immigrants: The Remedy Is Ready"]

[Text] On 27 January, at the expiry of the 15-day period after its publication in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE, law number 943 of 30 December 1986 will go into effect to provide a remedy for illegal immigrants by laying down "rules governing the employment and pay of immigrant workers from outside the community."

Although it does not include regulations on the entry and residence of foreigners in Italy (the relevant guidelines are still under discussion in Parliament), the new law sets forth a procedure for the "regularization of pre-existing situations" which will permit thousands of immigrant workers to re-enter the mainstream of legality by straightening out their own positions vis-a-vis the Italian state.

Article 16, Section 7 provides, in fact, that "non-community workers who, on the date of entry into force of the present law, are in contravention of the regulations on residence by foreigners according to the unified code of the public-security laws and the relevant administrative regulations, are not liable to penalty provided they present themselves, within 3 months of this same date, to the provincial public-security authorities in the place where they reside, to make their declaration of residence and declare their employment status."

In light of the imminent start of the regularization procedures, however, there is currently discussion on the procedure to carry out the remedy. In particular, there is an effort to clarify whether the declaration of residence, which Article 16 prescribes as a requirement for illegal immigrants' impunity, must be made at police headquarters by the individual personally, or whether it can also be transmitted to the public-security authorities through the unions, the benevolent associations and associations working for recognition of immigrants' rights.

It is not just a legal or bureaucratic form: at stake is the intermediary and discretionary role that the labor and humanitarian organizations wish to play in the delicate problem of the status and the rights of foreigners living and working in Italy.

Several meetings on the subject have taken place during the week among prefect Ricci, police chief Monarca, secretary of social-services having jurisdiction Mori, Caritas president monsignor Di Niegro, and the representatives of the various interested associations. The most recent of these took place yesterday at police headquarters, and was adjourned this morning.

Unions and associations are pressing to be accorded the authorization to present the requests signed by the foreign workers. To the prefect and the police chief, they have expressed the fear that a requirement for direct presentation of the declaration of residence could create chaos (as it already did on a previous occasions) in the offices at headquarters, thus discouraging many potential petitioners and perpetuating irregular situations.

Police headquarters, on the other hand, has objected that, faced with individuals who have immigrated illegally, personal identification by the police authorities represents an indispensable "minimum" for the purposes of regularization.

To ensure that the process does not suffer the slowdowns that have been feared, police chief Monarca has declared himself amenable to a decentralization of the operations, probably delegating the identification procedure to the directors of the individual police stations.

Today, according to reports, the interested parties will meet again in Via San Vitale. This could be what produces a decision on the procedures to be adopted in the delicate process.

13070/12781
CSO: 3528/96

OZAL ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM REVIEWED

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 31 Dec 86, p 2

[Article by Vural Arıkan, former finance minister]

[Excerpts] To sum up, I would like to run through the highlights of the last 3 years.

It has not been understood well enough that secularism constitutes the guarantee for freedom of conscience and religion. What happened instead was that numerous officials, of various rankings, in government departments -- SPO, Interior, Council of State, Auditing Office, TEK -- have been charged with belonging to a religious sect.

Chief of General Staff has issued a stern order to the effect that military colleges should be cleared of religious sectarians. A cabinet minister was prevented from sitting as acting defense minister on grounds that he was not sufficiently secularist. During the budget debates there were questions as to whether there were any sect members in the Cabinet.

Article 174 of the Constitution concerns the preservation of reform edicts of the 1920s. One of these, Edict no. 671, dated 1925 (1344 in Islamic calendar), is entitled 'Abolition of Religious Dens and Retreats'. As Prof. Sadi Irmak recounts in his book, during the discussions over the legislation a deputy belonging to one of the sects asks, 'What will become of me now?' The great leader Ataturk's answer is succinct and to the point: "You will become a man, a man!"

Well, 61 years later what do we see? Government departments that have been turned into religious dens, well almost... This is what happens when politics and religion are allowed to get too close! Hoping the new year would bring an increase in the numbers of those 'becoming men' I wish all the best for our country.

12466

CSO: 3554/148

SIGNIFICANCE OF 'HIDDEN ECONOMY' EXAMINED

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 13 Feb 87 suppl pp 2-3

[Article by Giuseppe Turani: "Italy Has Another Statistical Boom; A Hidden Economy Worth More Than 130 Thousand Billion Lire"; first three paragraphs are LA REPUBBLICA's introduction]

[Text] The Gross Domestic Product [GDP], estimated at around 770 thousand billion lire in 1986; now is very close to 900 thousand billion lire. But some say we already have an economy of one million billion lire. On the average, each Italian appears 5-6 million lire richer than current statistics indicate. Even the illegal income has its role.

At the end of March ISTAT [Central Statistical Institute] will announce that our income is much higher than believed until now. And this is a result of revising the method of handling national economic accounts data. In processing the 1981 census figures, it was found the 1982 GDP should be increased by 15.8 percent. The increase for 1986 should be around 18-20 percent. After surpassing Great Britain, France, too, is now nearer.

After the revision ISTAT is about to make, the GDP for 1987 should equal 683 billion dollars. In the graph [attached], the new GDP is compared with those for other industrialized countries. While the United States and Japan remain a mirage, and Germany seems far distant, the same is not true for France, which now seems within reach. Is another "overtaking" therefore about to take place, after the one carried out to the detriment of Great Britain in 1986?

Rome--This tale about an Italy which each day turns out to be somewhat richer, is a little mystery story which has been going on for years and will continue for awhile. In brief, everyone should have understood what it is all about. The whole story evolves around the GDP, initials which stand for Gross Domestic Product, representing the annual income produced by a country. Usually the GDP's increase or decrease is also used to determine whether the economy is doing well or poorly.

What is new these days is that at the end of March ISTAT will announce that our GDP, that is our national income, is much higher than what we had until now believed. And it is no small matter. A few days ago a press report was circulated to the effect that ISTAT was preparing to announce that our GDP was 10 percent greater than what they had thought up until now, but ISTAT suddenly hushed everything up, explaining that work was under way and it was better not

to disturb the people in charge. Actually, ISTAT experts have already found it will be necessary to go well beyond 10 percent. A little while ago Giorgio La Malfa made a very mischievous statement: "The GDP revision will depend very much on Craxi's mood. If he wishes, we might even get to beat France, in addition to beating England which we have already surpassed in terms of overall GDP."

This Italian GDP actually seems to be something quite flexible, which can be pulled here and there, as one wishes. For example, most people recall that before, in 1979, there had been a major revision. Suddenly it was found that Italians were richer by 9 percent, that is, by some tens of thousands of billions of lire. Some will recall that old Ugo La Malfa tried to the last to oppose this revision. Because he had gone about preaching austerity and sacrifices for years, he could not stand the idea of suddenly announcing that Italians had become richer. He protested, he argued with professors, but in the end he had to give in, and the statistics were in fact raised by 9 percent.

But that was only a partial catching up. Everyone who had not followed the Italian economy through ISTAT's reports, which by their nature are forced to be somewhat bureaucratic, was convinced that the Italian GDP was much higher than what appeared in official reports, and that much more money was in circulation.

A French researcher, Alain Mino, who wrote an extraordinary book a few years ago devoted to European economies, described how the Italian "hidden economy" should be at least in the order of 25 percent [to be added to the officially reported economy.] Giancarlo Lizzeri, an economist who was counselor of ENEL [National Electric Power Agency] for many years, once walked out of a meeting where the economic situation was being discussed, exclaiming, "But what are we talking about? At least half the Italian economy is eluding us, and we know nothing about it." Later, at ENEL they set about counting electric light meters, and they discovered all sorts of things: houses and entire districts which ought not to have been there, as well as factories and artisan workshops. Today, he is quietly convinced that the Italian economy is at least 20-30 percent larger than its official dimensions.

Cesare Sacchi, who for years and years was in charge of the FIAT research center, and who analyzed the problem using "real" indicators and various estimates, is convinced that the undeclared Italian economy should be equal to at least 35 percent.

The "Hidden Economy"

Everyone understands it is the "hidden economy" of the 70's, of CENSIS [Center for Social Investment Studies] and de Rita. Traveling around Italy, he [de Rita] discovered the country was much better off than was stated; above all, factories and new activities were everywhere. He coined the expression "hidden economy" and was immediately deluged with arguments. He was accused of being a visionary, a lunatic, a boundless optimist. Because he insisted on taking a census of, registering, and quite calmly reporting all about, that hidden vitality in the country, Francesco Alberoni once screamed right in his face,

"But you are an apostle of disorder." In any event, those estimates which I cited did circulate, and were even picked up abroad, as the case of Alain Mino and other researchers shows (not to speak of the newspapers). When one wanted to discuss Italy seriously, one always had to say the GDP was so much, but that it could be an additional 25-30 percent.

However, nothing was done at the official level. The waters had calmed after the 9 percent upward revision in 1979, and there was no hint that ISTAT would venture further. For example, even at a meeting in May 1985 the ISTAT president stated a possible Italian GDP revision, that however was not urgent in any case, would be kept under 4 percent, perhaps even under 3 percent. In a word, it would be a bookkeeping operation, really for specialists, and would not create any stir.

But then came the 1981 census data, and ISTAT began to review its calculations. The results were sensational. Concerning 1982, first year of the revision, it was already discovered that the GDP should be increased by 15.8 percent. And then one had to go on from there. Several sources estimate that for 1986 the revision should amount to 18-20 percent. In fact, the national income should be increased by one-fifth. Thus, Italy will find it is richer by 130,000-140,000 billion lire. In a word, by two and a half million lire per capita by the beginning of the year.

And here an important explanation must be made at once. Absolutely nothing will change for Italians, unfortunately. Revision of the GDP, even by 20 percent, will create neither one new factory nor one new desk. And no one will get two and one-half million lire more for Christmas. In the real economy, all these things were there before, only the state's bureaucratic machinery did not manage to count them. What is changing is that we shall be forced, as a country, to admit being much richer than we liked to have people think.

And, if we wish, we can go around boasting. After the revision, which will be done in March, Great Britain, for example, will actually be behind us, and even France (as will be seen from the larger graph) can no longer be so unworried.

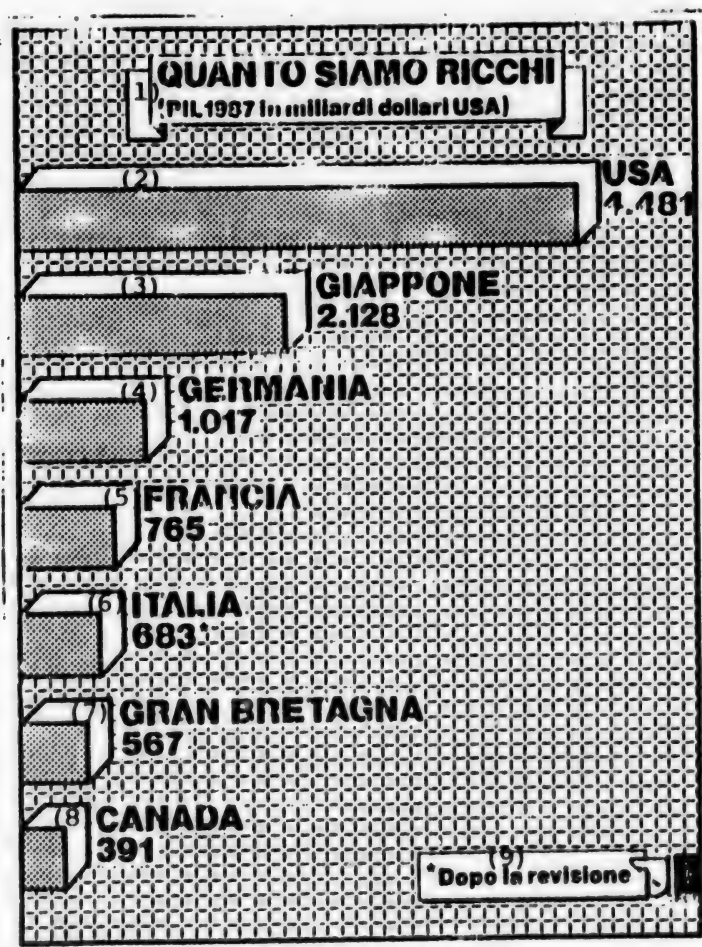
But all this richness, which until yesterday was not counted, or taken into account in the census, where does it all come from? We already have the answer. Again referring to 1982 (the year for which the calculations are revised) it appears that agriculture produced 4.2 percent more income than what was previously known. The manufacturing industry appears to have been underestimated by a good 10.2 percent; construction, by 14 percent. But the biggest surprise comes from the service sector. It appears to have been underestimated by more than 31 percent already in 1982 (and now ISTAT proposes to rectify it). Let us state, for clarity's sake, that from 1982 on, at least one-third of the service world was clandestine, eluding national economic accounts.

The results of all this work are impressive. The Italian GDP, which in 1986 was estimated at around 770,000 billion lire, will now reach 900,000 billion lire after the revision. But that is only the beginning. Experts are already saying that within a couple of years the revision process must be continued, placing into the national accounts other things which were left out, and it is

calculated that the new revision should be in the order of 6-7 percent. In brief, another 50-60,000 billion lire will have to be added to the national economic accounts. And the GDP will reach more than 950,000 billion lire. For that reason, many are saying today that we already have an economy of one million billion lire.

Illegal Income

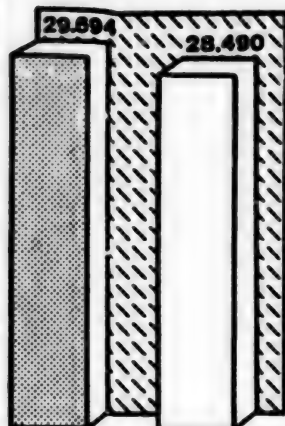
But that is not all. After having reached 9 percent in 1979, 17-20 percent in 1987, and 5-6 percent in 1989, Italy should have indeed "recovered" that 30-35 percent of the hidden economy which had always escaped verification. Hence, after that we ought to stop playing with figures. But that is not the case. Another 100,000 billion lire are missing. This time it is no longer the hidden economy, but the clandestine economy, that is, the income produced by illegal activities. It is calculated that around one million persons participate in this activity. Recently the CENSIS itself made very careful estimates and found 93 thousand billion lire are involved. Hence, to be realistic, ours is an economy today of 1,050,000 billion lire. And on the average, each Italian is richer by 5-6 million lire per year, with respect to what appears in the national economic accounts.



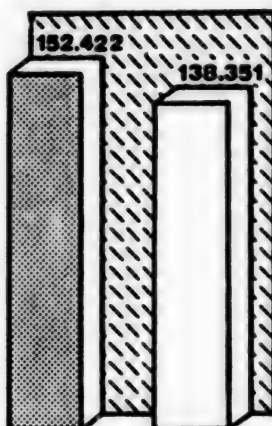
Key:

1. How rich we are
2. USA
3. Japan
4. Germany
5. France
6. Italy
7. Great Britain
8. Canada
9. * After the revision

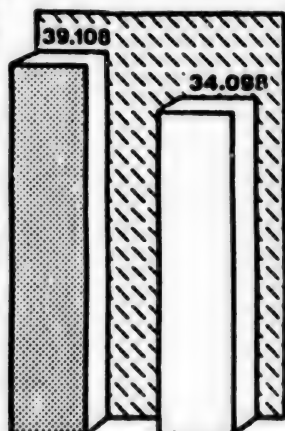
(1) **COME CAMBIA L'ITALIA**



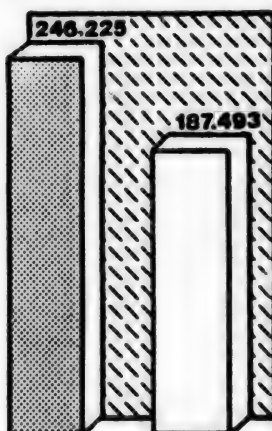
Agricoltura, silvicoltura e pesca (2)



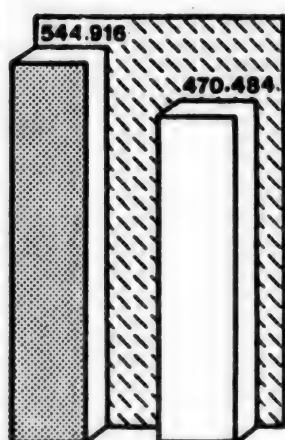
Industria in senso stretto (3)



Costruzioni (4)



Servizi destinabili vendita (5)



Pil ai prezzi di mercato (6)

(7)
 Nel grafici qui sopra e a lato sono riportati il valore aggiunto al costo dei fattori per ciascun settore economico e il prodotto interno lordo dell'anno 1982 (dati assoluti in miliardi di lire). Nella prima colonna sono indicati i valori revisionati dell'Istat, nella seconda i valori attualmente noti sulla base della contabilità nazionale

Key:

1. How Italy is changing
2. Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing
3. Basic Industry
4. Construction
5. Service Industry
6. GDP at market prices
7. In the graphs shown above and alongside are set forth the value added at factor cost for each economic sector, and the Gross Domestic Product for 1982. (Absolute data in billions of lire.) In the first column is shown ISTAT's revised figures; in the second, the figures currently used on the basis of the national accounts.

MILITANT FARMERS DEMAND AGRICULTURAL POLICY CHANGES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 2 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Klaus Broichhausen: "We German Farmers Have Had Enough—20,000 Demonstrate in Bonn for Preservation of Family Farms, Criticize Brussels"]

[Text] Bonn, 1 April—By rights, the more than 20,000 farmers taking part in a demonstration on Bonn's Muensterplatz today should have used this spring day to make up for the work delayed by the long, hard winter. Nevertheless, the farmers converged on Bonn from all parts of Germany to give vent to their anger over European agricultural policies. While the full membership of the Commission of the European Community was meeting in the NATO hall of the chancellor's office, farmers and their wives, including a remarkably large number of young people, were making their way to the center of Bonn carrying black flags and banners bordered with black crepe. At the same time, farmers will be holding a vigil directly across from the chancellor's office at the edge of the government district until tomorrow afternoon which is meant to convey their concern about the "demise of farmers" in case farm prices decline any further.

Brussels, the Commission and the names of the two German commissioners, Narjes and Pfeifer, are buzzwords for the farmers. When their leaders called for greater resistance to the Brussels policy of holding income and prices down, the farmers' hissing could be heard across Muensterplatz, which was not big enough to accomodate all the demonstrators. The demonstrations of disapproval were also directed against the FRG government which the farmers accuse of not fighting hard enough for their interests in Brussels. Both the farm spokesmen and the farmers themselves expect Minister of Agriculture [Ignaz] Kiechle not merely to speak out strongly in negotiations with the Commission and the ministerial council but also to return home with palpable achievements to benefit German agriculture.

The farmers' displeasure with Bonn and Brussels is expressed in so-so rhymes on their banners, e.g. "Narjes and Pfeifer are just puppets; the wires are pulled by the Bonn lunkheads." One of the banners addresses Chancellor Kohl directly, i.e. "Kohl, where is the new deal ? We farmers are going to the dogs." Growing disgust with the European Community is reflected on a vast number of banners and placards, e.g. "The Devil take the EC farm policy;" "The

EC is of no value to the German farmer;" "Brussels, the killer of farmers" and "EC, the slaughterhouse of our farms."

The farmers' demands addressed to Brussels and Bonn were summarized as follows by Farmers Union President Baron Constantin Heereman and by the vice president of the German Farm Women's Association, Gerken: preserve the family farm; do away with agrobusinesses; provide just wages and no social aid and just treatment by the government and society. At the meeting, Heereman put these demands in the form of a slogan, i.e. "unified in our call for justice and in our resolve to assure the future of a farmers' agricultural economy." The battle, he said, is for the family farm's right to live. The Farmers Union, he added, is not fighting against steps to cut down overproduction which merely permit farm prices to rise again on a cost-oriented basis in the space of 10 years without a corresponding rise in income. Heereman agrees with Kiechle on farm policy, i.e. he is in favor of less production and higher prices.

Heereman termed the proposals by the Commission for price policy and exchange rate compensation a sign of political ineptitude--in fact, meaningless and stupid. He called on the Bonn government to oppose the farm policies laid down by Brussels. The key for a new farm policy can be found in Brussels, but the Bonn government must make use of it, he said. "We German farmers can take a lot," Heereman told the wildly cheering demonstrators, "but now we have had enough." Heereman cannot bring himself to admit that the German Farmers Union shares in the responsibility for the sad state of German agriculture because of the kind of farm policy it fought for throughout the seventies both in Bonn and in Brussels.

Heereman is becoming more and more combative with each succeeding demonstration. This is exactly the kind of president the farmers want to see. But with each succeeding demonstration the farm spokesmen are also providing fuel for radical excesses. Until the end of the rally, some farmers were holding up a gallows directly in front of the speaker's rostrum and the inscription on it was: "This is reserved for EC commissioners and other betrayers of the farmer."

9478

CSO: 3620/183

HAMITOGULLARI INTERVIEWED ON ISLAMIC COMMON MARKET

Istanbul MILLI GAZETE in Turkish 6-9 Nov 86

[Interview with Besir Hamitogullari by correspondent Ferhat Koc; in Istanbul; not given]

[6 Nov 86 p 2]

[Text] At the 'Islamic Countries Economic Cooperation Conference' organized by Islamic Council in Istanbul between 11-12 Oct 86 (at OTIM, hosted by ESAM) the main focus was 'Islamic Common Market'. At the conference, Professor Besir Hamitogullari presented a paper entitled 'EEC and COMECON: An Evaluation of Their Structures, Successes and Benefits to Member Countries'. Following the conference we had a conversation with him on the subject of 'Islamic Common Market'.

[Question] Can you make an evaluation of Islamic Countries Economic Cooperation Conference?

[Answer] At the conference on 'Islamic Common Market', organized by Islamic Council in Istanbul between 11-12 Oct 86, scientific arguments were put forward as to why it is advisable for countries of similar nature and sharing the same civilization to establish economic communities. The point was underscored that the great integration movement which started in this era will continue well into the 21st century. In my paper I have drawn attention to these points. In the 21st century the world will no longer be based upon individual countries. The basic unit will be communities formed by the individual countries -- EEC, COMECON, Latin American common market, and perhaps a common market among Islamic countries ... International economy is at such a turning-point that those countries or country groups which fail to realize the nature of these developments will be condemned to poverty and exploitation. This important conclusion should infuse all countries with a new consciousness.

Point of Departure

It was this idea that constituted the point of departure for the conference. Many views were put forward about an economic union among Islamic countries, about benefits and procedures of forming a common market and so on. The conference became an experimental ground for establishing a common ideal among the many statesmen and intellectuals who participated. The articulation of the ideal is a great step forward in itself. All great enterprises start at the level of ideas. Therefore, when a change of ideas occurs in Muslim countries, and when there is a commonality of thinking, it can be considered as a positive and important first step.

Another important aspect has to do with the quality of the papers presented and the views put forward at the conference, which will be plainly seen when they are published. It has been an international gathering of exceptional quality. Of course, insufficient press-TV coverage, either by omission or commission, points to another facet of the situation. As I pointed out in my paper development in the Third World has been turned into an impossibility. With the \$800 billion debt hanging over their head any possibility of Third World development, or breaking the vicious cycle, has been blocked.

Vicious Cycles

However, it is possible for Islamic countries, whose number reach 45-50, to break this vicious cycle, to break out of the imperialist constraints of the international economic system, dominated as it is by U.S., Western Europe, EEC, COMECON, through the formation of a common market. If the Islamic world can accomplish this it would also make it possible for the non-Muslim Third World to save itself, because the international economic system would have to be restructured. An Islamic Common Market (ICM) will give rise to a new economic balance -- with U.S. on one side, the Soviet Bloc on the other, EEC in the running, and Japan trying to turn things around to its own advantage. This new order will be a humanitarian one, beneficial to the whole world. Spreading these ideas will provide benefits to the Third World, the Islamic countries in particular, and indeed the whole universe. As countries start getting their fair share from the system, when the scope of exploitation narrows down, and as countries develop the provoked wars of today will come to an end and peace will reign instead. For peace and prosperity the world is in need of new balances.

Foundations of Peace

Peace is predicated upon economic structures. Unless there is a fair distribution and jobs for everyone it is difficult to establish peace. These are necessary conditions, and at the very least exploitation of people and countries would have to cease. This is where common markets come in especially ICC, which will offer great contributions in that regard. To the extent that such ideas are effectively spread these conferences reach their goal. Therefore the conference has been a meaningful start. The enthusiastic crowds attending the conference were particularly notable from our point of view.

Long-term Benefits

These developments can provide Turkey with great benefits. There are the long-term benefits and the short-term ones. Among the long-term benefits are the opportunities an ICM could provide for Turkey's industrialization and development. Today Turkey is wide open to the world. But if Turkey can take charge of its economic destiny and be master in its own house then the markets provided by the Islamic world might open new vistas. And Turkey occupies a prominent place in that world.

The leading parties of Turkey, whether government or main opposition, want to take Turkey into the EEC 'no matter what'. But instead of this blind plunge into the EEC it would be better for Turkey to have other options in the form of an Islamic Economic Community. We have to do our homework asking all kinds of questions: What does Turkey gain, what does it lose, which sections might develop, which sectors would lose out, what would happen to national identity, how much would it suffer and so on.

Cost/Benefit Analyses

In short, what are the costs and what are the benefits. Unless one makes an overall calculation of these, and instead get swayed by emotions or the idea of joining the EEC 'no matter what', this would provide the EEC with the pretext for dallying and denying Turkey's rights. That is the current situation. But if Turkey adopts a course whereby it says, "All right, if you don't take me in I can join the Islamic Common Market," I do believe that the EEC countries will change their attitude vis-a-vis Turkey and start meting out better treatment. That is because Europe does need Turkey. This has many reasons which can be grouped into two: Firstly, Turkey is a large country of 52 million, dynamic and young. It is an extensive market. And secondly, from the viewpoint of the Western civilization, the

cultural 'melting' of Turkey in the Western 'pot' would be advantageous for them. By co-opting Turkey their tactic is leave the Islamic world without leadership. When one thinks of the roles that Turkey can play in the revitalization of the Islamic world it is clear how important this second factor is. But since proponents of joining the EEC 'no matter what' are not aware of these points they are unable to use the advantages they might have in the event of joining the EEC. This blind insistence is quite sad really.

These conferences may be beneficial in that regard. Even creating the suspicion in Europe that Turkey just might join an ICM would provide Turkey with a more dignified entry into Europe, and even that is a benefit of sorts. These conferences can be beneficial also in that regard. But, the wholly insufficient press-TV coverage given to the event has stalled any such benefit. It is yet another unfortunate manifestation of an inability to look at world events from the perspective of Turkey's vital interests.

[7 Nov 86 p 2]

[Text] [Question] given the present condition of governments in the Islamic world is it possible to translate the idea of Islamic Common Market (ICM) into reality?

[Answer] Yes, the issue finally comes to that. In Islamic countries there are peoples and there are governments. There are regimes some of which are closer to the West, and others with close ties to the East. I mean to say that political or economic regimes and the people's faith, their way of looking at things, are not necessarily the same thing. In fact they are often contradictory. Therefore one can expect to see all kinds of contradictions between governments and the Islamic economy, the Islamic way of life, or the people who may want to lead a fully Islamic life.

As to the establishment of ICM, it is an economic and political issue. Admittedly there are major controversies in these areas. But let's not forget that in many countries in the Islamic world people do have considerable influence over governments. Whether the regime is democratic or not a government cannot totally disregard public opinion. Therefore when the people's desires and thoughts are directed towards a worthy goal no government can stand in the way. Ideas do take time to bear fruit, and all ideas meet resistance initially (even the most important ones). It is not easy to get used to ideas, and we may not know how long it would take. Even when ideas are clearly presented and their

benefits fully explained to all concerned, it still takes time. But when the intended benefits -- to the whole world, to all humanity -- are fully explained even governments are bound to take note. No government (even those under the hegemony of the Western system) can indefinitely remain opposed to the wishes and desires of the people. Sooner or later they would have to respond. And a new balance would arise favoring the majority's way of thinking. Victory belongs to the Rightful (God) in the end.

Can It Be Realized?

The question of course is whether these ideas can be translated into reality. There are obstacles -- inside every country as well as international. Of course, the idea of ICM will not be greeted with open arms by the capitalist world which is used to exploiting the Islamic world as well as the Third World. It is clear that everything will be tried to prevent it. Even the low media coverage given to this conference is a manifestation of that effort.

This conference can bring many indirect benefits to Turkey. It could enhance its negotiating position with Europe. But as you see, despite that, it was not given the publicity it deserved. This is a manifestation of a mentality more Westernist than the imperialist West itself (more royalist than the king himself). This can give us an idea of what to expect in the future in the form of obstacles. It so happens that the eminently reasonable idea of a more humanely developed world does not suit the interests of dominant power blocs. At the cost of wars and instabilities these power blocs do not want to see other countries -- the Third World, Islamic countries in particular, even Turkey -- to develop. They are prepared to set all kinds of obstacles to prevent it. They are fully aware that such a development would reduce the scope of their exploitation. They also know that their regimes of exploitation are not going to last indefinitely. Regimes based on exploitation cannot be strong. Clinging to these exploitative regimes is an indication that they are about to fall. But the greatest obstacles are within exploited countries themselves -- domestic forces collaborating with foreigners.

Heightening Awareness

We can expect a heightening of awareness among Muslim peoples with regard to such issues. This awareness will come to pass sooner or later. Why do I say that? It is very clear: Because neither the West nor the East have been able to offer systems satisfying to the people of the world. Even the West itself, despite all the exploiting and pillaging, has not been able to

establish healthy and peaceful societies. They haven't been able to make mankind happy. It is the same with the East. Therefore, the world will no longer remain indifferent to the search for a better system. The search will continue, gathering momentum.

[Question] I suppose ICM is the final goal. What are the immediate steps to take to reach that goal?

[Answer] ICM is on the agenda today as part of a larger search for a more humane social economy in which man does not exploit man, and a more serene society which conceives the human being in all its dimensions. So long as the message is relayed that such methods exist the movement towards that goal would be unstoppable. This is the progressive road, and it addresses the human person. In fact there is a close connection between the progressive and humane aspects of Islam. In terms of progressivity, humaneness and enlightenment Islam is far ahead of other systems. As Islam's superiority comes to be understood there will be an unstoppable movement towards it.

Becoming Enlightened

No one can hold off the Light forever. They might be able to delay it temporarily. But they haven't been able to establish anything better, because they can't.

Ideas gain ground gradually. As they gather strength many internal difficulties will be overcome, because opportunity beckons in the economic field. Today, Islamic countries exhibit an economic structure complementary to one another -- from rich natural resources to large markets. And there is the great historical legacy of a civilization which might yet provide the impetus for new initiatives. But new dynamics have to be created congruent with contemporary realities. It is not possible to start from scratch. One has to draw strength from the past and restore broken ties with the past. But efforts to embrace the past are being undermined. There are traps, despite the great potential. This is a great opportunity heralding the possibility of better, more enlightened tomorrows. And through progressive attitudes transporting mankind into a happier future, saving them, liberating them...And this idea is spreading around the world, particularly in Africa, where there are fantastic developments. For instance, in Tunisia (which is in northern Africa) there are great developments despite being under the French cultural hegemony. The same thing in Sudan... And as I keep saying, behind these developments are certain dynamics which might be thwarted for a time but not held off forever.

[8 Nov 86 pp 2, 11]

[Text] So long as better alternatives are not presented, we can't talk of having real alternatives. The credibility of an alternative depends on practical results. If people have no jobs, cannot make ends meet, cannot spend what they earn in a decent fashion, if the society is not humane, if exploitation has not been eliminated and if torture is still going on then the alternative has not succeeded. When we look at the world today we see regimes barely standing on their feet. No one seems to comply voluntarily; enforcement and torture is everywhere. But such regimes are not strong. They do not derive from popular consent or from people's happiness. So there are lots of negativity. But since the aim is to create happier and more prosperous societies a transcendent goal will surely take hold -- to liberate man. However gradually, it will come to pass, it will gain ground. Efforts to save mankind will continue.

There are practical problems associated with such a goal, though, problems of strategy and methods. First of all, everything starts at the mental plane, with ideas. I have written about this before in an earlier article. Among Islamic contries we have to start by establishing an international covenant of ideas -- unity at the level of ideas. Intellectuals and statesmen can act as the engine for such an enterprise. But the idea has got to be sound. Our current world is in crisis, whether it's the East or the West. The Western world has been in crisis for the last 8 - 10 years despite all the exploitation and resources at their disposal. But this crisis was inevitable because the fundamentals of the system were rotten from the start. It is hardly possible to maintain stability on a continual basis under such conditions.

No Stability

Indeed, the whole history of capitalism is one of instability. We see that in Turkey too. Every 8 - 10 years there is instability and crisis, followed by political earthquakes turning things upside down. For one thing, the model is inadequate and unstable. This was pointed out in my paper. Production cycles are unbalanced. Consumption patterns are unbalanced. Money is not based on solid structures. In short, the system is based upon exploitation and therefore stability is not possible. The system is reactionary and cruel. Therefore the search for sounder models is on. Western recipes are not designed for the problems of the Islamic world. The Club of Rome's call urges rejection of further economic growth. What they seem to say is, 'We have developed enough, as to the Third World let them stay

where they are'. The West does not have any other option. Their way of growth is a wild growth -- the kind that crushes the human being and destroys as it produces often destroying the more valuable, non-replaceable things...

Crises

The situation being what it is new ideas find a ready audience even in the West. At the micro level we see a turning toward Islam by westerners. Despite all its contrived quality, behind this phenomenon lies a search for new ways. As I have mentioned during the conference on Islamic banking, the best thing that Islamic countries could do is trade with each other. I said, "Buy Turkish goods even if they are slightly more expensive. It won't do you any harm, it might bring benefits. Turkey should buy from you too. Short-term loss would be another country's gain. But it would increase employment in that country which would then become your customer."

Ideas

It is necessary to overcome the obstacles at the level of ideas and establish unity at that level. Today there are different agencies within the framework of Islamic cooperation. Competent people should be running them. But the situation does not look good in this respect. Not all people in those positions are competent. These agencies have in their power to ensure the necessary cooperation. Trade could be developed in a big way. By trading among themselves Islamic countries would get a chance to know each other better. While selling to one they would start selling to others. Thus trading might lead to a division of labor among Islamic countries. Cultural exchanges might form the backbone of this common market. As I said earlier, Turkey would be facing all kinds of opportunities. My studies on EEC and COMECON may shed some light here -- as to what methods could be used in this regard. It might be possible to draw lessons from those experiments.

[Question] Given that EEC and COMECON are based on group interest what kind of moral foundations can an Islamic Common Market be based upon?

[Answer] We have already seen what the foundations of EEC and COMECON were. To briefly recap, EEC's goal is to establish the dominance of capitalism and maintain an essentially Christian civilization in Europe as its moral foundation. And naturally to maintain their present power in the world. As to COMECON, it tries to establish the dominance of the Socialist International. Of course, under the hegemony of the Soviets and in line with their wishes. They are the boss, after all.

Moral Foundations

The common market of Islamic countries will, of course, be based upon moral foundations of that world which constitute its spiritual richness. When we talk of moral foundations we are not talking of concrete things. For one thing, the objective is quite different from that of the West or the East. Economic prosperity is not the one and only goal. Human dimensions are very important. The strength of the social structure and its superiority comes from that. Here economic development is not the final target. It is an important target and it should be realized by all means. But a more transcendent goal is the creation of a healthy society which has solidarity, cultured and developed. The economy is an instrument in creating the perfect society, with human beings to match. As you will notice the basic tenets of ICM are superior to that of the East and the West, its primary condition being the prevention of man exploiting man, man exploiting nature, a country exploiting another country.

Exploitation in the West

If we look closer we see that Western exploitation has lately shifted to the international plane, from their own societies. Through international imperialism, that is. But they continue with exploitation inside their own countries, though it may have been toned down. But the source of exploitation has not been eradicated because capitalism depends upon it. In different versions of capitalism the scope of exploitation may vary somewhat but its roots are still there.

The moral foundations we are talking about is a society without exploiters or exploited, a developed and healthy society. Economics is a tool for creating just such a society, developed along humane dimensions. That is where its superiority comes from. Because they are not sufficiently explained these revolutionary aspects of Islam are not common knowledge, and Muslims are branded as reactionaries. Some of them may be knowledgeable but others do it just to create intellectual terror. What they are doing is rejecting a system without even giving it a hearing, for fear that it might put an end to their exploitation. Never mind that the system might bring great happiness to masses of people. They are doing it to conceal their own regressive, reactionary attitudes. And admittedly, the behavior of some of the ostensible Islamists (those who have not been able to penetrate the profound depths of Islam, and who are exploiters of Islam are facilitating their job).

But the main goal is the creation of the authentic Muslim and Islamic society. And making sure that this society succeeds in development. Islamic development model is geared toward the human person. (Other systems may also claim that they don't have the tools). Islamic model has the right target, right tools and mechanisms. It is based on healthy balances. I call it the Islamic mode of production. The balance in production and consumption, and the formation of capital are regulated through those mechanisms.

Interest

No exploitation, no interest. Interest and inflation are contrary to the very nature of Islamic economy. Its basis is to deserve. Morality forms the foundation of a healthy economy. Political morality also derives from that source. Islam has a humane morality, it values the human person. This is very clear because man is considered the highest creature created by God. Man is not supposed to be exploited or left in ignorance. Poverty and ignorance stand in the way of becoming good Muslims. As you see, a person has to be educated, his needs have to be met. Why? So that he can be perfected. There are various mechanisms to that end. In fact, prayer is one means to it. That is the philosophical basis of Islamic prayer. The aim is not merely to observe prayer rites, or simply fast. Why do you pray? To become a better Muslim. Why do you fast? To eradicate poverty, want and hunger. There are other benefits, too -- discipline of the self, improvement of bodily health and so on.

Experiencing Hunger

But the main goal is the direct experience of poverty, want and hunger. You can then be considered a Muslim. Otherwise fasting becomes simply going without food. One could cite hundreds of instances; in this brief conversation I am citing merely a few. There are also effective mechanisms for getting the self under discipline. This is a very progressive morality particularly for those who oppose exploitation. It is a humane morality, too. Compared to the prevailing narrow perspectives these are transcendent perspectives. And comparisons can be made every step of the way and the superiorities can be demonstrated.

[9 Nov 86 p 2]

[Text] True morality consists in extending this approach into the 21st century we are about to enter. My proposal is this: A more humane and enlightened approach that would respond to the

needs of the 21st century. Of course it would need a high level of culture. It would also require a number of qualities like sincerity, co-operation, and a loving attitude. It would require a burning desire to end exploitation, and translate the Islamic ideal of non-exploitation into reality. Every system is based on a system of values. Looking at the East, what do we see? Oppressed workers... We look at the West, the exploitation of the workers is somewhat reduced. Why? Because they exploit the rest of the world (so they don't have to exploit their own workers to the extent they used to). The spoils of exploitation are shared between employers and workers. In the West, non-Europeans get the brunt of the exploitation -- Turks, Algerians, they are all exploited. In Britain those coming from India are exploited; so are the Pakistanis. They do not receive equal treatment. What kind of civilization is this which accords treatment according to nationality? An egotistic civilization ...What will become of them when this exploitation comes to an end? Their probable fate was indicated in a manifesto published around 1846 when Europe was close to being engulfed in rebellions. Islam is based upon high moral principles. It is a humane system because it is geared to the happiness of man, the highest of God's creatures. The distinguishing feature of Islam is the value accorded to the human being. That is the greatest difference.

[Question] What are your thoughts concerning Turkey's entry into the EEC?

[Answer] First let me say this. I find it extremely difficult to understand Turkey's backwardness. I find it hard to digest this. I see no reason why Turkey shouldn't be among the top 10 most developed countries in the world. Turkey's potential is under utilized. That is where the problem lies. Turkey is in this predicament because development is geared to a limited few rather than the 51 million as a whole. Turkey can find the model that suits it best in an independent fashion.

Today the official view tends toward joining the EEC. What would it bring us, what would it take away? Such calculations have not been made in terms of sectors -- agriculture, industry, services, or the infrastructural industries. A good analysis of the issues has not been made. What do we gain, what do we lose? That has not been examined even at the material plane. It is an unanswered question.

Another question is, if we enter the EEC would we lose our personality? Or would it be developed? Can we keep pace or get left behind? None of this has been worked out. It looks like a completely emotional and political commitment. They insist on

entering no matter what. That is 'unconditional surrender'. There is no inventory of costs and benefits -- which options would be more favorable, on which data base negotiations should refer, how do we protect our rights...I see none of these concerns. Enter now, ask questions later. Of course there are those who stand to gain by the entry. But I don't think the matter has been sufficiently scrutinized from the viewpoint of Turkey as a whole. There is no scientific analysis. Would an EEC membership mean automatic development for Turkey, or would development be stalled forever? We don't have the answers to these yet.

Turkey is trying to reach the level of contemporary development. For this an industrial revolution would be needed. Turkey has to produce technology. When one enters EEC one becomes subject to joint policies. You can no longer implement any policy you like. As it is we are not able to protect our industry. We are not at the same level. An economic union brings benefits to countries at similar levels of development. And it is a question of preference from a material, spiritual and cultural point of view. European countries are among the most developed in the world. But for me, they do not represent the ideal type of society. I mentioned some of the reasons earlier. If entry is to be made it would have to be based on extensive research. Presently this is not done, but if it is done it can only bring benefits to Turkey, as I pointed out earlier. New approaches can take care of some of the drawbacks. Not only in its dealings with the EEC, but Turkey always seems to lose out whenever the other party happens to be. That's what really saddens me.

Exercising Judgment

Turkey should enter into relations with everybody but those relations should be conducted with sufficient awareness -- turn things around to Turkey's advantage, and not lose out every time. It should be based upon research, exercise of good judgement, and defending one's rights. But I can't see any of this. As I said earlier, we have relations with the Islamic world, as it should be. But the important thing is to derive some benefit out of all this. Turkey conducts relations with EEC, America, Eastern Block and the Islamic world. However, the important thing is not merely the existence of those relations, but who benefits -- us or them? Of course it is a matter of right approach. It all depends the conditions of the entry. But any assessment would have to consider several dimensions. Unless this is done a blind foray will not bring benefits. It is our duty to say this.

What would become of Turkey once inside the EEC? Well, it would sacrifice its development for one thing. Turkey might be turned into a touristic playground where Europeans spend their vacations, our young men and women waiting upon them. They would be having a good time on the cheap. So the question remains, whether Turkey joins the Community under equal conditions or whether it gets lost in the shuffle. And would it continue to maintain its status as the most backward region in Europe? All these issues await a thorough examination.

Contemporary Civilization

There are also other dimensions. It is one thing trying to reach the contemporary level of civilization, technology and development and another to lose oneself in their system of values. When the issue is considered from all angles, joining the EEC like this, without conditions, appears as something of an unconditional surrender. That is my worry.

12466
3554/112

CRAXI DENIES RUMORS OF U.S. BASE TRANSFER TO AVIANO FROM MADRID

Rome IL MESSAGGERO in Italian 25 Jan 87 p 2

[Text] "I have received no news of such a problem." With these words, Council President Craxi responded to the question of a Spanish journalist regarding the possibility of a future transfer of U.S. military contingents and installations from their present Spanish billets to various Italian locations. The question in reality was aimed at the Spanish President, Felipe Gonzalez, who had raised it with his Italian colleague, in reference to the difficult negotiations presently in progress between Madrid and Washington over reductions and possible closure of bases, and the actual termination of the American military presence on Spanish territory. According to Spanish journalistic and military sources, in fact, the debate over the joint Hispanic-U.S. air base at Torrejon, just outside Madrid, could end with the total or partial transfer of planes, men, and defensive infrastructure to the Italian base at Aviano. This possibility is not being considered in Italy.

However, the two-day Italo-Spanish summit just concluded at Palma de Majorca did deal extensively with bilateral and multilateral defence matters. "We have noted", stated Defense Minister Spadolini as he concluded talks with his Spanish colleague, Serra, "the excellent state of relations between Italy and Spain in regard to both the armed forces and the entire military-industrial sector." These excellent relations are buttressed by a memorandum describing the respective armaments efforts on a common second-generation tank and by projections for a frigate of the 1990's. This last, planned on a broad multilateral base, relies nonetheless on significant contributions and agreement between the two countries.

"Even taking account of legitimate divergences that reflect each country's particular military contribution", Spadolini explained, "Spain's entry into NATO helped to consolidate relations between our two countries' armed forces", as for example collaboration in personnel training programs. Most importantly, a common understanding if the attention of two countries is turned toward problems involving both countries directly such as the struggle against international terrorism, concentration on NATO's southern flank, and the security of the Mediterranean.

This last theme was recently at the center of a debate of the Western European Union (WEU), an organization of which Spain is not a part even if, as Felipe Gonzalez stated yesterday, "We await the invitation, we are available, and Italy views our eventual membership and sympathetically."

NORWAY, FINLAND SEEN WEIGHING CONTRACT FOR SWEDISH JAS PLANE

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 28 Feb 87 p 18

[Article by Nils Petter Tanderø: "Swedish JAS to Norway?"]

[Text] Stockholm-Helsingfors: A Norwegian order of 30 fighter aircraft of the JAS type as replacements for the same number of F-5 aircraft in the Norwegian Air Force would be regarded by the Swedes as extremely interesting, Director Georg Karnsund in Saab-Scania, Inc., told ARBEIDERBLADET.

General Staff Chief Ilkka Halonen of the general staff in Helsingfors says that Finland is considering the same thing: Their Air Force's Dragon aircraft are too old, and one is now evaluating the question of whether the Swedish fighter plane JAS can be a Finnish alternative.

Ilkka Halonen told ARBEIDERBLADET that he looks positively on a Nordic cooperative project in the delivery of military equipment.

The question now arises whether it would not be good for Nordic security if the production of fighter aircraft in our area is supported. Such production is taking place today only in Saab-Scania in Linköping. According to Director Karnsund, Norwegian and Finnish orders of JAS in the amount named will reduce the total cost of the project -- without such orders affecting Norwegian or Finnish treaty obligations.

In Sweden it is also being said that an expanded cooperation in this area will be able to bring, for example, the Kongsberg weapons factory new blood. It will also strengthen Nordic security, and among other things, weaken the arguments that a nuclear-free zone in the North will weaken the North and strengthen the Soviet Union.

9124

CSO: 3639/28

NORWEGIAN SHIPYARD TO REFIT, LENGTHEN NORWEGIAN, DANISH SUBS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 3 Mar 87 p 45

[Text] The Mjelle and Karsen Shipyard in Bergen has received an order to lengthen and refit nine subs of the Kobben class. Six of them are Norwegian, and three were sold to Denmark, according to BERGENS TIDENDE.

The order has a value of about 62 million kroner. The whole modernization program will amount to 600 million. Most of it, according to BERGENS TIDENDE, will be used to buy equipment for the boats.

The first sub will come to the yard at the end of this November, while the last will leave Mjelle and Karlsen in September 1991.

9124

CSO: 3639/28

BRIEFS

NORWEGIANS SELL NETHERLANDS ARTILLERY--The Kongsberg weapons factory has signed a contract for 70 million kroner with the Dutch firm RDM. The contract includes partial production of the cannon for Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands, together with refitting and a final test of the cannon for Norway [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 4 Mar 87 p 46] 9124

NAVAL MODERNIZATION OF SHIPS CONTINUES

Rome IL TEMPO in Italian 17 Feb 87 p 17

[Text] The modernization of our naval fleet continues. The consignment of 3 new corvettes of the "Minerva" class, which are already being fitted out, will be assigned to replace the "Albatros" class. By 1990, another 5 ships of the same class will be in service. By the same date 4 new submarines will have been assigned, but previously, in 1988 we will be able to count on the "Pelosi" and the "Prini". Likewise, between now and next year we will have available two landing ships, the "San Giorgio" and the "San Marco." However, we shall have to wait for at least 4 years before placing into the line 2 new destroyers, "Animoso" and "Ardimentoso", while the "Garibaldi" will join the fleet in September 1987 based at Taranto.

These encouraging data emerged from the annual press conference with the commander of the Ionian and Lower Adriatic Department, Admiral Giulio Benini. "Avant-garde technology and equipment cannot fully compensate for the fact that our fleet is small in numbers", Benini emphasized, "and therefore the knowledge that soon we shall deploy additional units enables us to face the future with greater serenity."

On the other hand, operations like "Girasoli," the code name for the burdensome obligation to face the Libyan threat in the waters off Lampedusa or operation "Margherita", which referred to the Achille Lauro affair in Mediterranean waters, require numerous, technologically advanced craft.

But the Navy is not only warships; it is also a message of peace around the world: In fact, 86 ports in 37 countries on 4 continents were visited by our cruising units such as the Vespucci or the frigates Scirocco or Grecale. In all parts of the world 7,000 Italian sailors found friendly welcomes, and confirmed our friendship to the 125,000 visitors who came aboard. In the same period, 30 ships of 9 different nations visited the Port of Taranto, while the very same Ionian headquarters hosted a meeting of NATO's naval tactical school commanders.

13108/9738
CSO: 3528/95

MISSIONS, TRAINING OF ELITE NAVAL INFANTRY UNIT DESCRIBED

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Feb 87 p 48

[Article by Liv Hegna: "Elite Soldier on the Attack"]

[Text] The enemy's ammunition supply depot must be destroyed. The sabotage mission is ready. The elite soldiers are underway. This is a task the naval infantry will have in war. At this time a new course is starting at Haakonsværn Naval Station in Bergen to train draftee units in these and other necessary tasks. It is Norway's answer to the Soviet spetsnaz threat.

Not one air bubble reveals that the naval infantry is underway. Specially built oxygen tanks allow them to proceed to their goal in all secrecy. But if the enemy should nevertheless become suspicious and take countermeasures, these fellows will survive. Their training has taught them to bear the shock of strong explosions at close range.

In the field they operate in pairs. They have no communication with other groups who are out to cut supply lines or do reconnaissance on the enemy's strength.

The underwater compass allows them to orient themselves under water. They may have been dropped off from a sub. Perhaps they come from other vehicles. They are also trained in parachute jumping and can land behind enemy lines under cover of darkness.

Military Career

Nineteen-year-old Terje Abusland has decided upon naval infantry training, non-commissioned officers' school, and perhaps the naval academy afterwards. He expects tough physical service. He looks forward to joining the naval infantry troops in Ramsund. Northern Norway is tops for those who like life in the open, hunting, and orientation. He already had his diving certificate from previous training.

The school leadership approves of the fellows having experience in this discipline: "We would like to train them as we want them. But in recent years civilian diving training has become quite good," Captain Steinar Holm told AFTENPOSTEN.

Twenty-year-old Lars Dybing has been a member of the Home Guard Youth for three years. He thinks military life is fine, but he himself wants a career in the police after his duty in the navy.

Clarification of responsibility

Are spetznas operations the beginning of a war? Where does the responsibility of the police for protecting life and property end, and when do the defense forces take over? Such questions are clarified in the Justice Department's terrorism committee under the direction of Arnulf Kjesaeth. Their report will be delivered shortly. It was the defense chief who in Defense Studies 1985" determined that the responsibility must be clarified and made known to the police in the defense forces and among the politicians. According to what AFTENPOSTEN understands, the defense chief has asked for a special force that can be called in outside of the preparedness system.

Among the 36 who began the diving course in Haakonssvern this week, 14 will get through. Ten of these will join the naval infantry troops in Ramsund and serve their required duty together with recruited soldiers.

9124

CSO: 3639/28

INCREASED INTEREST IN HOME GUARD DESCRIBED

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 3 Mar 87 p 25

[Article by Cato Guhnfeldt]

[Text] Elizabeth and Jon, Sigrun and Jorn Erik are issued their uniforms. They are home guard youth. And it is Tuesday evening. Together with some 20 like-minded young people 17 to 19 they learn about communications, weapons drill, giving orders. Or they perform close order drill. A quite natural use of free time, according to the members of Greater Oslo Home Guard Youth District 02407/West Baerum. After a clear decline in the wake of the Hadeland murders in 1981, recruiting for home guard youth groups is again increasing. And more will come. For after the passage of the Storting resolution, the age limit to become a home guard candidate has been reduced to 16.

"You get a lot of blisters and sore shoulders. But it is fun," 17-year-old Sigrun Kalvo from Baerum.

"Mother and father did not want it to become too hard and affect my school-work. It doesn't do that," 18-year-old Jon Peter Lange from Asker said.

"Some of my friends said I was a status seeker for going into the home guard. You always get some comments in the beginning," Jorn Erik Rokholt, a 17-year-old from Rykkinn said.

And Elizabeth Rossnes, 18, from Kolsas, summed it up for everyone: "The environment is terrific!"

Six years ago it was not really "in" to be a home guard youth. From having over 2,000 members in the country support for the home guard youth plunged apace with the media's reporting of the Hadeland murders. Military discipline and the use of weapons brought thoughts all too easily to the bodies of two dead boys on a lonely forest road in Hadeland. Potential candidates stayed away, and home guard units were disbanded.

Correct Handling of Weapons

In recent years interest in the home guard has increased. Today there are about 1,800 members of the youth divided into groups in the country's 18 home guard districts, of which the largest is East Oppland with a total of 257 members divided into 23 groups. Within the Greater Oslo Home Guard District the numbers are different, with West Baerum as one of only five youth groups.

"With us the correct handling of weapons and respect for weapons is paramount. No one points at anyone else with weapons. And attack exercises are forbidden," Jorn Erik said.

Lieutenant Asbjorn Sandnesmo, youth leader in the Greater Oslo Home Guard District, added: "The young people can do almost everything up to the point of firing. No violent competition. And the AG-3 weapon has been replaced with the ordinary Mauser. The Hadeland murders had a particularly strong effect on the activities of home guard youth groups in Oslo. But the youths are now coming back. A large number of the youths entering are thinking of a military career. In 1986 there were as many as 23 youths from groups in the Greater Oslo Home Guard District who entered into one form or another of command training," Sandnesmo said.

Four units under the leadership of Lieutenant Baard Lund, a former professional military man for six years, handle the total of 33 members of Youth Group 02407/West Baerum. "Only six months after the beginning in October 1985 we had 30 members. The recruiting was extremely good. The word passed from man to man. Girls took their friends along. And an environment was created," Lund said. "And from the very beginning I stressed contact with the parents. First by way of written orientation, and later during an information evening. It is hard to be 17 and take mother and father along to the home guard. Just the same, about 30 parents came. And we ran out of cake and coffee. On 16 December last year we celebrated the first anniversary with dinner for members, parents, and representatives of Greater Oslo's Home Guard District at the Defense Museum.

That evening had its effect, at any rate according to Elizabeth Rossnes. "Both mother and father were very skeptical when I began in the home guard last September. But the anniversary with video and slides on our activities got them to change their minds," she said.

Cheap Hobby!

The youths are offered a varied program that is planned before each six months. "It is important to conduct a nuanced plan with clear direction," Lund explained. "For young people are quite observant. I stress their structuring their time and showing responsibility. In the command building here at Rud we have an indoor firing range at our disposal, classrooms, and a lounge. In addition, there is all the outdoor activity: field run, badge test in track, march badge, cross-country ski run with firing included, infantry run, pentathlon."

This makes up the physical training. Camping is the most popular activity for the great majority: field duty, organization of the tent area, spending the night in the field -- including a night in a buttoned up tent in the winter, and patrol duty.

Not to speak of mountain climbing, participation in the Nijmegen march, various ski courses, county competitions, exchange with U.S. National Guard members in Minnesota, among other things.

"It is a cheap hobby. We learn a lot. The unity is good. And then we get food free during all our expeditions," Jon Peter Lange said. Training with military vehicles is still lacking. But it will come in spring.

Praise the unit -- when the press is near!

9124

CSO: 3639/28

WOMEN SEEN ENCOUNTERING DISCRIMINATION, HOSTILITY IN FORCES

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 17 Mar 87 p 5

[Article by Liv Hegna: "No Equality in Norway's Military"]

[Text] The defense forces form the only government organization that does not satisfy the demands of the law of equality, Lieutenant Colonel Elizabeth Sveri of the Oslo Military Union said Monday. In spite of the fact that the Storting has decided that women will not be included in the system of obligatory service, the female army inspector thinks that the question of obligatory service for women, or national duty for all, should be cleared up.

"The experience in the army is that some officers do not think it correct for women to be in the military," Colonel Sveri said. She said that the fact that women bear children, that they do not have obligatory service, and that they supposedly take jobs from men are among the most common arguments against women's duty in the military.

She proposed the transfer to the home guard of personnel with the responsibility of caring for children. She said that other institutions in the society, for example, the health service, have not solved the question of the responsibility for care in a mobilization. She pointed out that a committee has studied the question for two years but so far without result.

Kindergartens

The defense minister has on his personal initiative set up pilot projects with kindergartens under the direction of the military in the Bardufoss area, Trondelag, and Bergen. "They are set up both for units with civilian spouses as well as when both partners are military," Sveri said.

Women's lack of experience in the military can lead to special perceptions.

Sveri said that there are 30 percent more women than men who are for situation-determined conscientious objection. She stressed that 40 percent of the members of government and 35 percent of the Storting representatives are women, and that women can soon tip the balance in deciding upon appropriations for defense.

Pilots

There were 49 female applicants to the military pilot school in 1986, but only one was accepted as a student. Sveri also said that at the end of the year the first command school trained woman was assigned to the infantry. The first femal sergeants will be examined for the Engineer Corps. The Field Artillery and the Coast Artillery will receive their first sergeants this summer.

Hazing

"Women in the military feel that they are breaking the sex barrier every day," Sveri said. Verbal expressions that women are welcome form no guarantee that things are that way, according to Sveri. She stressed that there is hazing during beginning service at some of the defense schools. "But," as she said, "Considering that no consciousness-raising courses or seminars were held before the navy did it in 1986, it is amazing that things have gone as well as they have."

9124

CSO 3639/28

DEFENSE RESEARCHER SEES NEW U.S. NAVAL DOCTRINE POSING PROBLEM

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 20 Mar 87 p 2

[Commentary by Olof Santesson: "Balance Merits Discussion in Altered Situation for Nordic Countries"]

[Text] Something has happened in the Nordic regions. The superpowers have become more active militarily. But our neighbors and we ourselves have not to a decisive degree altered our security/defense policy dispositions. The Nordic pattern—"balance," to use an old word—seems to remain.

The concept is exhaustively discussed by Robert Dalsjo in the most recent issue of MILITARHISTORISK TIDSKRIFT, published under the auspices of the Department of Military History of the Military Academy.

His rather abstract analysis is surrounded by other accounts, markedy "useful" from a historical aspect, by second lieutenants as well as technical officers; most thought-provoking is docent Tage Bostrom's review of behaviors and attitudes in Vaino Linna's "Unknown Soldier." Here we are moving, if you will, on the very wartime foundations of the conditions which are valid even today.

What Dalsjo arrives at is that there are several Nordic balances/weight considerations. When speaking about the balance between the two NATO states Norway and Denmark and non-aligned Sweden and Finland, tied to the Soviet Union by the Friendship and Assistance Pact (VSB), one gives a "correct, even if not complete and clear, image of the security-political and military conditions in the Nordic region."

In connection with an examination of the military arrangements of the four countries, Dalsjo notes that nuclear blackmail appears to be a serious and overlooked threat in Swedish debate and defense planning.

A way of thinking more central to the balance argument referred to by Dalsjo is that the Warsaw Pact needs to have air bases available all over Scandinavia in order in a war situation to be able to strike at NATO's supply transports across the Atlantic.

This is discussed in a somewhat more detailed and speculative manner by Defense Research Institute Associate Professor Gunnar Jervas in FOLK OCH FORSVAR's publication series FORSVAR I NUTID.

The point of reference appears in the title: "The U. S. Maritime Strategy. Threat or Possibility for Sweden."

On the whole, Jervas's seems to like remarkably well the new U. S. naval strategy with its emphasis on far forward operations, here the subject of rather careful analysis.

To be sure, the criticism of the intent to seek out and destroy the opponent's nuclear submarines is mentioned as a dangerously destabilizing factor. But Jervas seems to accept the U. S. originators' idea that by making the possibility of a lengthy global conventional war credible, they have in fact found the best way to avoid nuclear war!

The Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs says that it does not yet know whether the new naval strategy has been officially accepted by the Reagan administration; even the Norwegians, for example, tone down the warfare ideas of the U. S. Navy. According to Jervas, the strategy is "well anchored in relevant decision makers in the United States," a curious way of speaking about the central issue, for which he actually does not furnish any evidence.

The new strategy--with the accompanying more offensive exercise pattern in the waters around the Scandinavian peninsula--came at the eleventh hour, according to Jervas, in order to prevent the Nordic region from ending up "behind Soviet lines." We should thus be grateful for the U. S. position!

Here the author is more optimistic than for instance conflict researcher Wilhelm Agrell, who fears that Sweden already, due to the military-technological and strategic development, is assumed to have ended up "inside the zone where the Soviet Union perceives legitimate wartime security interests."

Nevertheless, both arrive at the opinion that Sweden now needs to review its defense doctrine and organization.

In Jervas's case this takes place after some remarkably bold guesswork around the possibilities which in a crisis situation could be available to the Soviet Union, if the United States realized its new naval strategy.

Intrinsically, it would be more valuable to Moscow to acquire areas in Central Europe through major ground operations, but even Sweden would have considerable "exchange value" and would above all be easier to attack, in his opinion.

In other words, the U. S. strategy, not long ago so full of blessings, now turns out to increase our problem.

Among other things, Jervas is entering the reasoning that even Sweden's peacetime position could deteriorate if tensions in the Norwegian Sea caused the Soviets to try to influence the key country of Norway through measures in Finland "based on the VSB pact." He believes a nuclear-free zone would fit poorly within NATO's defense system--and it is not likely to be realized against the wishes of the United States, is it?

But back to "war scenario Sweden."

Jervas does not find a major invasion across the Baltic Sea likely. By going through the various tools of the Soviet military power he nevertheless arrives at the argument that the Soviet Union "under certain circumstances" could deploy 30,000-40,000 men against Sweden in the form of airborne landing units, naval infantry aboard special tonnage and spetsnaz groups with the task of sabotaging and paralyzing the Swedish defense forces. The perspective requires Swedish countermeasures.

With that, Jervas arrives at the actual message of the pamphlet:

"What we could do in order to 'guide' a potential attacker in a different direction is thus to develop a defense which makes even rapid and surprise operations against our country more difficult."

We have heard these thoughts before and we will hear them again.

Even military people like to talk about spetsnaz troops, to be sure. But in the matter of countermeasure proposals, the gap between over-imaginative academics and official representatives of the Swedish position is widening, now that the party-political debate has fallen silent.

11949

CSO: 3650/95

PAPER ON NAVY COMMANDER'S REMARKS ON FLEET SHORTCOMINGS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Mar 87 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] If the Navy commander in chief had declared himself satisfied with the new defense agreement, one would have jumped for joy. Last Thursday, to the Society of Naval Sciences, he instead--as expected--expressed his dissatisfaction with the size of the naval appropriation. That is his duty, as the one responsible for the way Sweden copes with the strain on the resources in an essential area of the security policy.

It is somewhat ticklish, however, when Vice Admiral Schubak hints that the capability of Navy personnel to perform their duties can be affected by certain "individuals taking a doubtful position on the genuineness of the political will to solve the problem" of defending the country. The nation must demand that military personnel do their best with what is available.

However, it would be nice if on the declamatory party level people ceased talking about meeting the submarine threat "with all available means." This phrase creates a false image of how large an increase the antisubmarine warfare has received. Such a difference from reality should be avoided.

Perhaps the most useful part of Bengt Schuback's speech was that he gave a concrete picture of the way Navy materiel is exposed to stresses that were not foreseen during the construction phase. Nowadays nearly the entire fleet is equipped and at sea--is that really meaningful, with the knowledge that many units in fact are not well equipped to search for foreign underwater activity?

Only the most modern ships have an acceptable working environment. That is of course one of many reasons why the Navy wants more ships as soon as possible; from the late 1990's until a good bit into the 2000's 40 of them will fall into the obsolete category. If the Navy succeeds in developing a standard platform--a JAS of the sea--it, alongside a Danish "container" variant, would arouse interest in the rest of the world. In duel situations, which should be avoided, all kinds of JAS units will be forced to act with extremely intelligent tactics in order to survive.

Decisive for the actual security policy is, at any rate, that the Swedish defense has competent personnel. The entire military leadership now seems to want to reexamine the existing system of "standard officers." Reopening a special career for specialists of type weapons technicians and similar might perhaps be socially sensitive. But in security policy one cannot afford to totally disregard what is expedient.

11949

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ARMY BASIC TRAINING TO BE AFFECTED BY BUDGET LIMITATIONS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 15 March 87 p 4

[Article by Erik Liden: "The Army Gets Only a Piece of the Action"]

[Text] General military service is a cornerstone of Swedish defense. It has been so since 1901, when Parliament established the foundations for the present training of conscripts. The various political parties agree in principle on the importance of conscription--although increasing costs have had the result that the Liberal Party, above all, is prepared to limit the extent of the training.

The defense decision which Parliament is to take in May-June this year includes reinforcement of the Navy and Air Force for the coming five-year period. The Army, on the other hand, which annually trains 40,000 of the country's 50,000 conscripts, gets only a marginal increase of 200 million kronor, while awaiting a study on the future organization of the Army. The government has instructed the new supreme commander, Bengt Gustafsson, to report no later than fall 1988 on the Army's need for conscript training, facilities and wartime units, including materiel.

The parliamentary Defense Committee, which has prepared the 1987 defense decision, had expected the supreme commander and the Army leadership to have submitted a report on a new Army organization last year. Instead, Army Commander in Chief Erik G. Bengtsson concluded that no savings could be made with a new system of training.

New Organization

The system which the 1983 Conscription Committee proposed was one of rolling training, in which three age groups of conscripts would be trained over two calendar years. In this manner several regiments could be disbanded and valuable savings obtained. The Army leadership rejected that proposal, since the disadvantages--such as major shuffling of the employees, need for larger training fields, etc.--would not be offset by the advantages.

As anticipated, the government did not accept this kind of caution but is demanding that the supreme commander submit a report in a little more than a year for a new Army organization. An important question will be which new

major materiel projects can be included in the budget that the future Army, based on general conscription, can expect. The demand is also for nearly 150,000 soldiers to have refresher course training each year, which existing appropriations rarely permitted.

Liberal Proposal Rejected

The Liberal Party's proposal that for economic reasons 5,000 conscripts should be directly trained for civilian defense, was rejected by the other parties on the Defense Committee. Instead, conscription spending must be pared down in other ways. This year, weekend trips home for the conscripts cost 400-500 million kronor, primarily because of expensive air travel. It is now being discussed whether the armed forces cannot arrange their own air transport and use busses and trains more than today. In some places the trips home cost more than the entire annual appropriation for the conscripts at the regiment.

In order to release more training money there are also proposals for using reserve officers and conscripted officers in peacetime training more than now. The active-duty officers' union organizations have opposed this, instead demanding increased recruitment and better financial compensation in order to prevent more and more officers from leaving the profession today. There is a shortage of 1,000 officers in the Army, at the same time as more conscripts than ever are on the waiting list to do their military service right after high school. According to the conscription law, no one should have to wait longer than 2 years.

The Swedish Officers' Association has demanded that the age groups should be reduced by 5,000 conscripts per year until the vacancies have been filled, so that everyone can get a good and purposeful training.

The Consequences

This proposal was rejected by both the supreme commander and the Ministry of Defense, since it would lead to several thousand more conscripts having to postpone their basic military training with the resulting social and financial consequences for the individual, such as postponed secondary education.

Total conscript benefits this year amount to 1,700 million kronor, or nearly eight percent of the defense appropriations, a doubling during the last 15-year period.

11949

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REPORTER FOLLOWS ALONG ON WINTER INFANTRY EXERCISE

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 15 Mar 87 pp 3-4

[Article by Hakan Bergstrom and Tomas Oneborg: "Training Takes Much Effort in Swedish Defense"]

[Text] Armed Force With Mashed Rutabagas

Lost on Skis in the Woods

Seldom have the conscripts been so ambitious and had such a friendly attitude toward the armed forces as right now. That is what officers are saying.

One hundred sixty infantry soldiers on skis got lost in the forest outside Gavle. The woods are dark and cold. The next morning they ate highly peppered mashed rutabagas and shivered in the cold.

Content?

"We are not always being trained, we are kept busy," said one conscript.

"SondagsMorgon" went along on one military exercise.

The Army is not glamorous. No, conscription can be ski bindings that come off and infantry soldiers who wrap their feet in newspaper in order not to freeze.

The Army is also a political question. The Army lacks officers, the future organization is under review, refresher courses are cancelled and the efficiency of the Army's annual training of 40,000 conscripts is being questioned.

At I 14 in Gavle the rifle soldiers shoot with live ammunition some time each week, but also take to the field with blanks and old-fashioned skis.

Sometimes military service seems nothing but food and latrine concerns; what is a matter of course in everyday life becomes a problem and a military conversation subject:

"That lieutenant ...," says a conscript on an icecold morning in the Gastrikland forest.

"We had been out on exercise a few days and no one had used the latrine, one of those paper boxes with a plastic bag. He noticed that, of course, the lieutenant. Don't you think he wanted to be bloody nasty and sat down on the box and shit, just so we would have muck to deal with."

Yet another problem, a latrine to transport, on top of everything else. A soldier's life is everyday problems.

The wind is ice cold. The soldier is freezing.

There are various ways of trying to explain the merits of conscription. Battalion chief Thomas Bornestaf at Halsinge Regiment, who likes to call the armed forces "this company," has one way. He recalls the fireman from Mariestad.

"I was part of a UN force in Cyprus in 1969. A transformer station had caught on fire. A water fire extinguisher hung there, and I'm sure that I would have gotten a number of kilovolts through my body if I had used that extinguisher."

"But there was in the UN force a fireman from Mariestad, who was the first to arrive at the place of fire. He threw the extinguisher over a fence so no one would get hold of it. Instead, he ran to get a dry powder extinguisher which should be used for electrical fires."

"So of course one has real great confidence in this company. Swedish soldiers know something besides presenting arms and shooting straight ahead," in Lieutenant Colonel Bornestaf's opinion.

Knowledge and experience from civilian life can be the strength of a conscripted army; a fireman knows that he must throw away the water extinguisher in order to avoid electric shocks when the transformer station is on fire.

The Right Man in ...

The right man in the right place?

Roger Forsberg is a conscript at the same Halsinge Regiment, I 14 in Gavle. One cold winter morning he stands at the crossroads near Finnback in the woods outside Gavle. He is called Sluggo and is chief of the rifle company's food preparation unit.

In civilian life? Oh, I work at an oil storage installation, I transport environmentally hazardous waste.

"Then you came to the right place," retorts a pal with his eyes on the dish of the day.

There is steam in the cooking tent. Powdered rutabaga is being poured into simmering water.

"Damn it, Sluggo, it smells of pepper in the whole tent."

"Sure it smells. I'm putting white pepper in the mashed rutabaga."

"Too much, too much."

It's that kind of a morning, when soldiers shiver from the cold and lack of sleep. The kind of morning when the exercise leaders are satisfied even so.

"Sure, we have achieved the objective of the exercise, although we were 3 hours behind schedule and had to skip one and a half attacks," says Captain Backstrom (the last names on the military name plates are the conversational form of address; here last names, but rarely first names are heard).

Backstrom glows: "It's important to achieve level three...."

... and Many Believe in 'This Company'

At level one the exercise is going like a breeze. The soldiers are happy. At level two they become whiny and complain of fatigue. But at level three they have turned silent and welded together, in joint effort.

That is military psychology.

In the forest, dark as night, 160 men, one company, have slowly advanced on skis. They have gotten lost.

Three kilometers through the forest took 6 hours. The life of a soldier is fatigue.

"I really think the military service could be shortened from 10 months to 4. It is not effective," says orderly Mats Tornros, possibly a well-conditioned exception, who is mostly worried that his fitness will deteriorate during the year of service.

Mostly a Gofer

The orderly drives a motorcycle. In his spare time Mats Tornros is a successful motocross driver:

"Here I'm mostly a gofer for officers who don't have the strength to walk a few hundred meters with a message," he states.

Actually, he would like to learn more. He has understood that in wartime he is to check whether the air is full of chemical agents. His duty is to spread

the gas alarm to the soldiers. His duty is to keep the company together during marches.

But he feels like a gofer, a poorly utilized force.

"We are not always trained, we are kept busy."

"You know, I came back to my job the other week. They almost died laughing when I told them that we had a training break, winter sports vacation. And soon it is Easter vacation, too," says conscript Tornros, who normally is a truck driver for Sandvik.

His left ear is flying the flag. A small Swedish flag swings from the ring in his ear. Perhaps a patriotic gesture?

Defense Will

The following is a common attitude among officers: Seldom have the conscripts been as motivated as now, seldom so positive toward the armed forces, toward conscription.

Ingmar Arnhall is brigadier general and commander of Halsinge Regiment, I 14 in Gavle. He likes to speak about the conscripts' renewed interest in defense. He perceives the 1970's as a deviation, a "degeneration process:"

"After the 1972 defense decision the armed forces became a weakened part of the security policy. Training was shortened, refresher courses cancelled."

"And the youth revolt, as well as the subversive activity of the KFML(R) [Marxist-Leninist Communist League] contributed to the problems of the 1970's," says Ingmar Arnhall with eager gestures and a cigarette in his hand.

Thus he speaks and depicts the small communist party as something major and threatening.

"But the development turned around in 1978," says Ingmar Arnhall, who today says he meets interested soldiers in every bush.

But the State Saves

The problems are different. The commander of the regiment is dissatisfied because he may not, for reasons of cost, organize major refresher courses. It is during these training courses that various units learn to cooperate.

"The conscription system and wartime organization presume recurrent refresher courses. Otherwise the basic training can be regarded as destruction of capital," Ingmar Arnhall says.

The state saves money. At Halsinge Regiment 6,500 soldiers were to be trained for a few weeks in May. But the exercise was cancelled. Only the 950

conscripts who are now completing their basic training at I 14 will go into the field during the weeks in May.

It is now March.

The rifle company pushes on with white-painted skis, broad as planks, on their feet. They pull their antitank rifles in sleighs. Automatic carbines hang around their necks.

Sometimes the equipment seems to pull the soldiers, not the other way around.

"I stood on the scale before one exercise. I did not have a backpack, just the most essential equipment. The equipment weighed 22 kilos--suddenly I weighed 103 kilos," says Henrik Wikstrom, a conscripted staff troop commander.

In order to keep the heat in he has folded a daily newspaper around his feet before putting them into the boots; the feet get the coldest.

He is sitting on the skis--"white lighting with hickory edges," in conscript jargon--in the pale sun that still does not warm. He says that he has difficulty taking the discipline: the lineups, and the buttoned buttons. Behind him is a tracked vehicle with the description "Fi" written on a white sheet. "Fi" means enemy, and some soldiers have checked out red-colored plastic pieces that look like gunshot wounds. They lie screaming on the side of the hill, pretending to be fallen enemies, when the rifle company takes the hill with blanks and leaps.

"Here we had interjected a new element. How did the boys react when they encountered enemies with gunshot wounds?" wonders the battalion commander during a review in the dark evening.

The Ugly Enemy's International Law

"Many did not bother to care for the injured enemy soldiers. Some shot blanks toward them, even though they were seriously hurt.

"We had to remind them of the international law."

That's right, international law. War has its rules, and rules must be respected.

And battalion commander Bornestaf--he who believes in the "company"--tells his fellow officers about the English major who lectured at the Swedish Military Academy.

Well, the major told how English soldiers took the weapons off injured enemies during the attack on the Falkland Islands the other year and how the injured enemies were then given medical treatment by following British forces. Fancy that.

And Then the Binding

But there at least no bindings came off.

The conscript hurries up--to the extent it is possible to hurry on military skis in a Gastrikland forest full of underbrush. He hurries up to the company commander.

"Captain, captain, a binding has come off."

"Shuffle on."

The company's tracked vehicles have taken the wrong route during the exercise and have been captured by the enemy. In the mock war the drivers of the tracked vehicles are tied with narrow string. Oh well, the company captures a crossroads and gets the tracked vehicles back.

A command in the forest:

"See if the vehicles are booby-trapped. Then release the drivers."

"What?"

"See if the vehicles are booby-trapped."

"Booby-trapped... what the hell is that?"

The training leaders, the career officers, follow the exercise. At times they denote the hierarchy: they have lunch at wooden tables with white paper cloths in the middle of the woods, while the enlisted men stand up and shovel the food into their mouths from tin cans.

Wear Themselves Out?

But the officers are usually friendly.

"But I'm afraid that the career officers wear themselves out. At this kind of regional regiment the atmosphere is good and most want to do their very best. But we are too few officers and there is a lot of overtime," says battalion commander Thomas Bornestaf.

I 14 has 79 permanently employed officers, who are to cope with the annual training of 950 conscripts.

The conscripts are awakened after 3 hours of sleep in the wood-heated tents. They climb out of the tents, and remain standing like statues outside the tent openings. Shivering, without initiative.

"Come here and help. Don't just stand there and slouch."

Conscript Bjorn Forsgren heaves the folded tent onto his shoulder and carries it off to the truck. In good spirits.

Move on

"It's probably good for you to do military service. It toughens you. I mean, if I were home I sure wouldn't go out in minus 20 degrees [C] and cook in a snowdrift," Bjorn Forsgren says.

Totally serious.

The company soon moves on, leaving a few spots of urine and emptied dishwater at the Finnback crossroads.

11949

CSO: 3650/95

PLAN FOR NEW COMMAND SYSTEM ON EAST COAST CAUSES UPROAR

Navy, Coastal Forces Dispute

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 18 Mar 87 p 16

[Article by Anders Ohman: "Vaxholm Militaries Object; Naval Move Causes Controversy"]

[Text] A heated conflict has blown up within the Navy. The conflict is about Bengt Schuback's, Navy commander in chief and vice admiral, plans for a new command system for the naval defense of the east coast.

The new East Coast Command (MKO) is to provide more effective leadership for the Navy and Coast Artillery in a war. The Navy's two branches have previously had difficulty cooperating when things got tough--as in the submarine incident in Harsfjarden in 1982.

If the new organization is implemented, the Stockholm Coast Artillery Defense in Vaxholm will disappear, and the new military leadership will have its seat at Musko Naval Base in Stockholm's southern archipelago.

Feelings are boiling in the archipelago town of Vaxholm. All of the personnel unions are critical of the proposal, which has been christened "Navy Colossus East." Putting that many people inside the Musko mountain near a naval shipyard is pure insanity, in the opinion of the union organizations.

Coordination

"We must create considerably better coordination. This was the conclusion of the Submarine Commission after the incident in Harsfjarden in 1982. More effective leadership is needed against the background of the coastal defense effort included in this year's defense decision.

"I understand the strong reaction of the personnel in Vaxholm--and no one should have to move against his will," says Colonel Fredrik Hillelson, Navy Staff, to DAGENS NYHETER.

He is heading the study group under the Navy commander in chief which is to undertake the new organization. A draft of the framework conditions for "Navy

90" is ready. It is evident from the text that Parliament has approved the Navy commander in chief's and the supreme commander's proposal for a new naval command and maintenance organization in the 1987 defense decision.

The background for demanding a new organization is changes in the operational environment. An attacker will have large and qualitatively good armed forces in an attack on Sweden. The number of ships, aircraft and helicopters, as well as ships suitable for military transports, is increasing.

An attacker is judged to have opportunities today of secretly preparing and then carrying out an attack across the sea against the coasts of Sweden. This could take the form of an amphibious operation.

In that event the task of the Navy is to deploy its armed forces as early as possible. The attacker is then to be opposed during the entire crossing to Sweden.

Greater Risk

A greater risk for the Navy's mobile and fixed units is the fact that the ranges and capabilities of the attacker's aerial forces have increased. The Navy must adapt its tactics to this. At the same time, preparedness in peace and neutrality must be guaranteed.

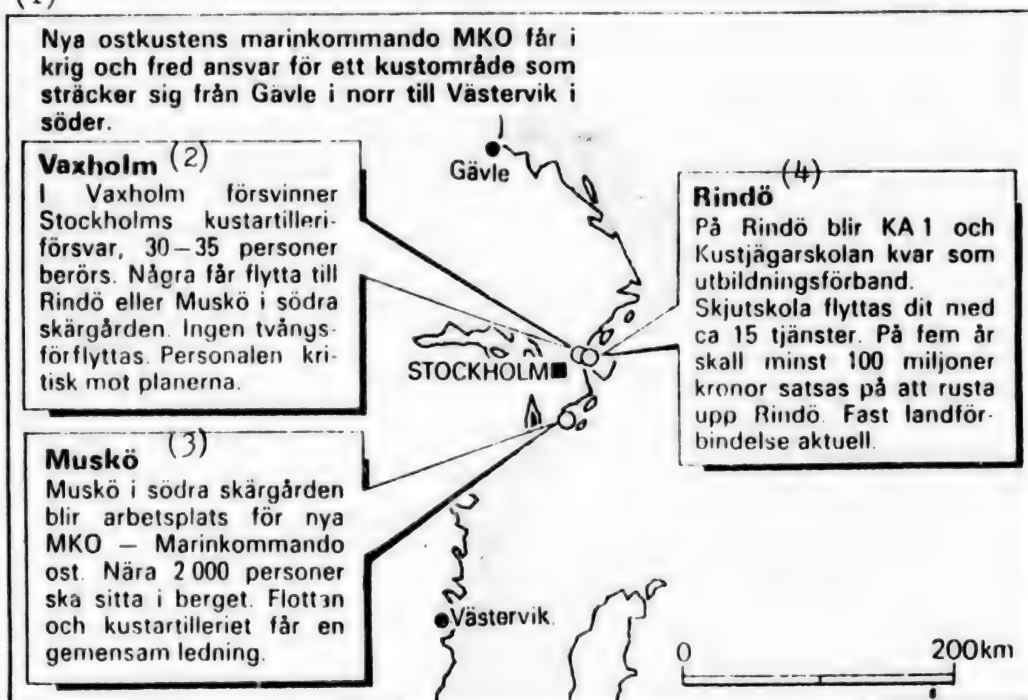
An attack on Sweden across the sea could be combined with aerial landings along the coast. Bridgeheads may be established. More arms and soldiers are brought in. In such a war situation, Navy forces must be coordinated with airborne and Army forces. This poses greater demands on leadership. The fire power of the weapons has become greater and ranges have increased. The new coastal missile 15, which is included in the 87 defense decision, has a range of over 100 kilometers, and requires uniform and effective fire control.

Simplified, the new "Navy 90" organization means that there will be an authority which has control over the two branches of the Navy. Below the local military commander (MILO O Strangnas) is the chief (CMK) of the Navy command. He has a staff under him which commands the various units--ships, helicopters, surveillance units, coast artillery, regional, base and maintenance units, etc.

A similar reorganization is also being undertaken on the south coast, whose new Navy command (MKO) will be formed in Karlskrona. There, the reorganization is taking place without protests from the personnel. No one is in danger of having to move. In all, about 3,000 persons on the eastern and southern coasts are affected by "Navy 90."

At Vaxholm, according to the Navy Staff, about 30-35 persons are affected, who are to be moved to Musko in the southern archipelago.

(1)



Key:

1. The new east coast Navy command MKO will be responsible in war and peace for a coastal area extending from Gävle to the north to Västervik to the south.

2. Vaxholm

At Vaxholm, Stockholm Coast Artillery Defense will disappear, and 30–35 persons are affected. Some can move to Rindö or Muskö in the southern archipelago. No one is forced to move. The personnel is critical toward the plans.

3. Muskö

Muskö in the southern archipelago will become the place of work for the new MKO—Navy Command East. Nearly 2,000 persons are to sit inside the mountain. The Navy and Coast Artillery will have a joint leadership.

4. Rindö

At Rindö, KA 1 and the Commando School will remain as training units.

A gunnery school will be moved there with about 15 positions. At least 100 million kronor over 5 years will be invested in refurbishing Rindö. A fixed land connection might be part of it.

Worn Down

The staff function of Stockholm Coast Artillery Defense will be abolished. KA 1 at Rindo with the Commando School will remain as a training unit, and 150 million kronor over 5 years are to be spent on the Rindo units, which have badly worn down facilities. The Coast Artillery's Gunnery School will move from Stockholm to Rindo, which represents about 15 positions. There is also talk about a fixed land connection for Rindo. Today, traffic is by ferry.

All of the Coast Artillery's personnel organizations in Vaxholm want to have two naval authorities on the east coast, instead of the proposed one. One of the authorities would be responsible for the coast north of Stockholm, approximately up to Gavle, the second authority south down to Vastervik.

"We are not negative to the changes in organization, but we cannot support the proposed design of "Navy East," say local representatives of SALF [Foremen's and Supervisors' Association], SOF (the Officers' Union), SACO/SR [Org. of Salaried Employees/Federation of Government Employees], ORF (National Officers' Association), TCO [Central Org. of Salaried Employees], FCTF/TCO-s [Union of Civilian Salaried Employees at Defense Establishments], etc.

Great concern was expressed in a letter to the Defense Committee and the subcommittee on defense.

Faced with the threat of having to commute 200 kilometers or move to Musko, qualified personnel may choose to resign, says the union. Even the threat of nuclear arms is used as an argument for getting rid of MKO, which in Vaxholm humor has been called "Marine Colossus East."

Great Concern

"We also regard with great concern the risk of attracting nuclear weapons when the naval leadership of the entire east coast is concentrated to a single place, Musko. We regard such a situation as very vulnerable. Difficulties in handling large mobilization forces would result," writes the union, which wants the Defense Committee to study the "two-authority alternative."

The northern authority should emphasize the Coast Artillery, and the southern one the Navy. On 31 March the personnel unions will petition the parliamentary subcommittee on the matter.

A highly placed military at Vaxholm, whose situation is difficult in the prevailing situation, is Urban Sobeus, brigadier general, head of SKA 1, the Stockholm Coast Artillery Defense.

"There are already good rules for cooperation," says Urban Sobeus, who is well acquainted with the arguments but who does not want to take a position. As a military man he must follow orders if the Navy commander in chief's proposal takes effect.

Sabotage

"I have to command it with all my strength," he tells DAGENS NYHETER.

There are considerable difficulties commanding such a large authority which is to be responsible for such a large geographical area, in practice the coast from Gavle down to Vastervik. MKO will become one of the largest authorities in the defense system.

The head of SKA 1 also ponders how suitable it is to place more than 2,000 people in the Musko mountain with the threat of nuclear weapons and sabotage units. Distributing the risks seems more sensible.

Potential rationalization gains are a question mark. The Navy tells DAGENS NYHETER that between 10 and 15 million kronor per year can be saved by budgeting the resources.

At SKA 1 they have figured out that it costs 200 million kronor to implement the proposal. Five million per year can be saved.

Debate in Navy Continues

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 27 Mar 87 p 23

[Article by Anders Ohman]

[Text] Is the naval defense of the east coast from Gavle to Vastervik to be headed by one or two authorities in case of war?

The debate within the Navy rages on before the defense decision.

The Navy commander in chief, Vice Admiral Bengt Schuback, who wants to combine the Stockholm Coast Artillery Defense SK/KAl at Vaxholm with Navy Base East at Musko, last week visited the military commander of the eastern military district in Strangnas in order to discuss the proposal, which has ruffled the feathers of Coast Artillery personnel at Vaxholm.

Lieutenant General Bengt Leander, the military commander, will now take a closer look at the proposal, and tells DAGENS NYHETER that it is important and necessary to integrate the Navy and Coast Artillery in a command function.

The task of the military commander is to lead all the armed forces in a war.

'Big Club'

If the proposal goes through, he will get "a big club to wield," as one military observer in the Navy expressed it, adding the question mark "if the club won't be too big?"

In its final memorandum, the Defense Committee unequivocally backs the supreme commander's and the Navy commander in chief's one-authority alternative, which affects half of the Navy's personnel and is decisive for the naval defense of the east coast.

However, Lt Gen Lehander is not 100 % convinced that the best proposal is to create a large authority with about 2,000 persons stationed at Musko in the Stockholm archipelago.

Coast Artillery critics at Vaxholm say that it will become too big, vulnerable and clumsy to handle.

"It is conceivable to divide this organization, provided that an integrated command between Navy and Coast Artillery can be retained; I will continue to think about this," says Bengt Lehander to DAGENS NYHETER.

Personnel Critical

All of the personnel organizations at the Coast Artillery in Vaxholm are against the proposal and on 31 March will petition the parliamentary subcommittee with the demand to table the decision and study a division of the command into two authorities—one for the northern coast from Gavle to Stockholm, another for the stretch down to Vastervik. The demand has received support in several parliamentary bills, among them from the Center Party, which wants a new study of the naval organization.

If MKO goes through, the Stockholm Coast Artillery Defense at Vaxholm will disappear, and between 30 and 35 persons will move to Musko Naval Base in the southern archipelago.

Col Fredrik Hillelson, Navy Staff, has led the group which developed the controversial "Navy 90" proposal that includes a new coastal defense command. He says that the two-authority alternative was already studied in the preliminary work for MKO.

"We could not choose the two-authority alternative because the Navy and Coast Artillery must be kept together. An independent authority with major responsibility can handle this," says Fredrik Hillelson to DAGENS NYHETER.

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CIVIL DEFENSE EXERCISES EMPHASIZE AIR RAID PROTECTION

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 18 Mar 87 p 16

[Article by Anders Ohman]

[Text] Civil defense exercises will be carried out in 11 places in Sweden on Saturday. The public will see a prepared shelter, protective masks and become acquainted with the local civil defense.

The most recent population exercise took place in 1961, 26 years ago. A new spirit of emergency preparedness is called for, not because of the threat of war, but because civilian threats such as Chernobyl, power failures, flooding and crises have revealed a vulnerable Sweden.

"We who work for the home defense want to reduce people's worries, suffering and need in times of crisis, and increase their opportunities for survival. But in order to achieve this goal we must train," says Hans Franzen of the Civil Defense Organization. It is a volunteer organization which is helping to establish a home defense in Sweden.

The exercise this weekend is called "Pre-Exercise 87."

In Stockholm home defense exercises are carried out in the Faltoversten block, Sandhamns Street 6-8, at Fleming Street 4 (Bolinder Hall) and at Stavsborgs School in Alta (Nacka).

Important Task

The general public will see an information station which performs an important task in an emergency situation. That is where messages are put up regarding shelters, food service, home protection representatives etc.

Experience of civilian crises have shown that if the public does not quickly get correct information, rumors are created which aggravate the situation.

A readied shelter will be shown. Normally, shelters are stuffed with bicycles, junk and other items. A shelter should be ready within 48 hours. Unfortunately, things are in bad shape in many places. During a check it took

a week to find the key to the shelter. The only thing remaining of the equipment was a bucket of sand.

Shelters are constructed around Sweden for about 500 million kronor each year. Seventy percent of the population lives in these shelter communities.

There are about 60,000 shelters with room for more than 6 million people. This equals between 60 and 70 percent of the need, says the Rescue Corps.

"Unfortunately, few Swedes know what shelter they are supposed to be in," says Karl Gunnar Back, secretary general of the Civil Defense Organization.

He also stresses that home protection, preparedness and civil defense are not just about the threat of war.

"In many areas and in many countries the social apparatus is becoming increasingly weaker. Then it is important that all who can and want to are given the opportunity to contribute to helping and survival. Power failures, cold weather crises, floods, radioactive fallout and fires have shown this, although we are living in deepest peace," says Karl Gunnar Back.

The distribution of protective masks is also on the program. Breathing protection is face masks, jackets and special protection for children. These are manufactured primarily in order to protect against chemical weapons.

The breathing protection gear is stored in order to be distributed only under the threat of war. The amount of available breathing protection is greater in Sweden than in other countries. Everyone is to have such protection no later than 1994. Today there are face masks for 70 percent of the population. Protective bags for children under 1 year are not available; the need is estimated at about 100,000.

Block Person

The exercise this weekend is part of the recruitment by the Civil Defense Organization of local home protection representatives in Sweden. The volunteers are to become "block persons," to whom the public can turn if a power failure becomes extensive or if the community is hit by flooding, etc.

Since the turn of the year the municipalities have been responsible for heading up civil defense on a local level. The task of the home protection representatives is to act as the municipality's own volunteer organization.

Besides Stockholm and Nacka, civil defense exercises will be held this weekend in Torshälla (Goksten School), Lidköping (Lidbeckska House), Saffle (Main Square), Karlskoga (Rosendal School), Vasteras (Nygards School), Harnosand (the square).

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POLL: CONFIDENCE IN ARMED DEFENSE CAPABILITY WEAK

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25 Mar 87 p 21

[Article by Anders Ohman: "Swedes Like Defense but ... Confidence in Defense Weak"]

[Text] The Swedish people have long had a stable, positive attitude toward defense. On the other hand, its confidence in the capabilities of the armed forces to perform their duties is markedly weak.

Seventy-five to eighty percent of the population believe we should put up armed resistance to an attack, "even if the outcome appears uncertain." Eighty to ninety percent believe we should have general military service for the country's male inhabitants.

This is indicated in the "Opinion 86" study made by the Psychological Defense Planning Board jointly with the Swedish Institute of Public Opinion Research during October-November last year, when 1,021 persons were interviewed.

The attitude of the Swedish people toward defense has not changed very much. However, new aspects are added as to why its confidence in defense is so weak.

Two Duties

To the question of "Do you believe that our defense increases our chances of staying out of a potential war," 46 percent reply "no" and 48 percent "yes."

To the question of how great our chances are of defending ourselves, 65 percent of those asked think the chances are "quite small," while 23 percent consider them "great" or "very great."

These two questions were put against the background of the defense having two principal duties as an element of Swedish security policy. If a country should find it compatible with its interests to attack Sweden, our defense ought to be of such strength that that country should not find it profitable to launch such a military action.

The second duty of the armed forces is to defend Sweden, if in spite of everything we become involved in a war.

"The replies to these two questions indicate remarkably weak confidence in the capabilities of the armed forces to perform their principal duties. What the reason for this is, however, we do not know with any certainty," says Per-Axel Landahl, director general, in a comment.

Strength Reduced

He believes that two aspects may have a certain relevance in this connection. Considerable resources are set aside on the part of the total defense in order to inform the public of security policy and defense--but much indicates that the gist of the message does not get through to the public.

It has been assumed in security-political calculations that a major power would not attack Sweden with its entire force, but only with a portion of it. In that case the resources of the Swedish defense are quite large, and can have a considerable impact, both in deterring war and in defending the country successfully.

According to the Psychological Defense, the wars in Vietnam and Afghanistan indicate that such a reasoning might be justified.

Another viewpoint and reflection is that information about the considerable capabilities of the defense in certain areas are rarely brought up. On the other hand, it is often noted that the relative strength of the defense in comparison with the rest of the world has declined--the major problems the defense faces, etc. In the open Swedish society the negative sides of the defense dominate, and the positive ones are hardly noticed.

"We must provide better information on security policy and total defense," says Per-Axel Landahl to DAGENS NYHETER.

More Money

In the upcoming defense decision for the period 1987-1992, the SPF (Psychological Defense Planning Board) will receive an increase in its appropriation by 2 million annually, from 5.4 to 7.4 million kronor. The Defense Committee will also ask the SPF to continue to undertake research regarding the need for information. Greater effort is needed as regards disinformation, psychological warfare, propaganda methods and studies of catastrophic events, as well as the increasing demand for information concerning security policy and total defense.

As a component in a more open process of information, the Psychological Defense has produced a film for high school classes on Swedish security and defense policy. It will be ready for showing this summer.

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JAS DEVELOPMENT CONTINUES WHILE AWAITING MISSILE ARMAMENT

Paper Defends Viggen Capabilities

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 19 Jan 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Draken, Viggen, and JAS"]

[Text] As Hans Lindblad, the Liberal Party's defense expert, himself points out in his contribution to the debate, he has concerned himself primarily with fighter aircraft over the years. That is an area in which Lindblad undeniably possesses considerable detailed knowledge, unlike Minister of Defense Roine Carlsson, whose expertise is, on the whole, open to question.

With Hans Lindblad repeating once again that the Viggen system represents the technology of the 1960's, the suspicion grows as to where Roine Carlsson actually got the inspiration for his notorious statement that "the Viggen is a stage that has passed." It is true, of course, that the minister of defense himself is not in a good position to decide what the Viggen really represents. But if, during the discussions, he hears Hans Lindblad, who is an expert on aircraft, describe the Viggen as technologically old-fashioned, perhaps it is not so strange that Roine Carlsson should repeat that statement in public.

With all due reverence for Hans Lindblad's knowledge of aviation, we would like to question some of what he has to say about the technical issues involved. In fact, his presentation contains contradictions. If anything, his main message is contradicted by what he says at the conclusion of his report.

Moreover, Lindblad argues in favor of an alternative that is not included in the agreement he has just helped put together. There will not be any more Viggens, but neither will any Draken squadrons be activated. The size of the fighter command is going to remain at an alarmingly low level—in actual fact, there will be fewer than the 12 squadrons decided on in 1982.

Deliveries of the Viggen in its attack version began in 1972. After extensive development, the fighter version followed in 1977. Naturally, the design work for the basic version had been done in the 1960's, and that provided the prevailing international pattern for today's ultramodern fighter aircraft.

Going back to the U.S. F-15 Eagle, as we did in our previous editorial, that plane was designed in the late 1960's as a counterweapon to the Soviet MiG-25. Deliveries to the U.S. Air Force started in 1974--that is, a year or so behind the attack version of the Viggen and a few years ahead of the fighter version. Production of the F-15 is still going on.

The Viggen and the F-15 are children of the same era. Hans Lindblad tries to make a big deal out of the fact that the F-15's engines, like those in the JAS, are more modern than those in the Viggen. One almost gets the impression that the only difference between the Viggen and the JAS is the engine. He talks about a "new-generation engine," "more thrust per kilogram," and so on.

It so happens that the Viggen has an extremely powerful engine. The thrust of the JAS engine is only about two-thirds that of the Viggen engine. As Hans Lindblad knows full well--since he was once a participant in the discussions--cost considerations led to the adoption of a less powerful engine with less thrust potential for the JAS. There were more powerful alternatives.

The JAS will be a considerably smaller aircraft than the Viggen, but it is expected to perform just as well. The smaller size is an advantage in itself. The hope must be that the JAS will be a completely worthy successor to the Viggen. But there is no reason whatever on those grounds to belittle the Viggen, which is going to provide the framework for Swedish air defense for a long time to come. It is an effective airplane. Like its counterparts in the rest of the world, it will continue to be produced.

There is nothing to indicate that it would be wrong to procure a further quantity of Viggens, especially since the JAS is being delayed and there will be available capacity at Saab. When Hans Lindblad also points out that the service life of considerably older aircraft around the world is being extended, he weakens his own argument.

Hans Lindblad further bolsters his argument in favor of an alternative to the Viggen by recommending that more Draken aircraft be placed in service. That may not be very logical, but there is no substantial reason to reject the idea. On the contrary, it is disgraceful that quite a number of Drakens with abundant armament have been mothballed prematurely, a move made necessary by the long stagnation in defense spending. A fully combat-ready Draken squadron was taken out of service as an economy measure just a couple of years ago.

As has been mentioned, the defense agreement between the Liberal and Social Democratic Parties says nothing about activating Draken aircraft. The Center Party and even the Conservatives have generally been willing to accept that as one alternative for strengthening our air defense.

Despite that, Hans Lindblad and the Liberal Party have entered into an agreement which will not provide a greater number of active aircraft during the foreseeable future and which is not going to strengthen the fighter command's armament, at least on this side of the turn of the century. For those reasons, among others, the Liberal Party's separate agreement across the bloc boundary is unsatisfactory.

Fewer Missiles Than Viggen

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 20 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Lars Christiansson]

[Text] The agreement on defense between the Liberal Party and the Social Democrats means, among other things, that every Swedish fighter plane will have fewer air-to-air missiles after the mid-1990's than it does today.

The agreement includes a decision to modernize the current Missile 71 with new electronics. The object is to provide freedom of choice in 1992 when deciding whether to equip the JAS with an advanced Swedish air-to-air missile or to go ahead, as planned, with procurement of the U.S. AMRAAM missile.

The defense agreement earmarks 1.5 billion kronor for that project, including modernization of Missile 71 and a technical program that will provide the basis for deciding whether Sweden can produce a Swedish substitute for AMRAAM. The OB [supreme commander of the Armed Forces] says that doing so would cost between 5 billion and 6 billion kronor more than procuring AMRAAM as planned.

Target Seeking Missile

The modernization of Missile 71 will include fitting it with a radar homing device which can find its target automatically after the missile is launched from the aircraft. The missile is currently guided to its target along a radar beam projected by the launching aircraft.

The idea is that Missile 71-A (that is, the modernized variant) can then serve as the basis for the missile model that will be an alternative to AMRAAM. That later version--Missile 73--will require considerable reconstruction of Missile 71, partly by fitting it with a more powerful engine.

Too Few Missiles

The Air Force currently has a certain number of Missile 71's used to arm the fighter version of the Viggen. The exact number is a secret. But it is known that there are too few in terms of what the OB regards as necessary. Sweden currently has three units flying Drakens, and those planes carry a different type of missile that can be used only on Drakens. The Drakens will begin to disappear in the mid-1990's, when they will be replaced by JAS planes, which at first will be armed with Missile 71-A's.

The agreement gives no financial leeway for procuring more Missile 71's to be converted into 71-A's while waiting for the JAS to be fitted with either AMRAAM or Swedish Missile 73, which will not happen until just after the year 2000 at the earliest.

This means that more Swedish fighter planes will have to share the same number of available missiles. And that, in turn, means that after the mid-1990's, the Swedish fighter command's capability in that area will be reduced.

Secret Intentions

The agreement says that electronic warfare capability "will be assigned priority through substantially higher spending on countermeasures for the Viggen and JAS Gripen." A total of 800 million kronor is earmarked for that purpose. What that really means is a secret. But what can be said is that the spending in question will give both aircraft types a better defense and early warning system than they have now, although spending on countermeasures for the JAS remains quite a bit below what was planned and what was considered necessary to enable the JAS to hold its own against its potential adversaries.

The Air Force will receive a limited type of airborne radar. This decision means that the combat information organization will now be getting a system of airborne radar antennas but will be unable to direct flying operations from the air, something that the OB considered particularly important.

"Should Be Considered"

The defense committee agreed in principle on the need for a ground-based countermeasures system capable of jamming an enemy's airborne radar and operational command systems. But the agreement makes no provision for that, either.

There will not be any expansion of the Air Force. The light SK-60 attack plane will be phased out gradually beginning in the mid-1990's. Nor has any money been set aside for increasing the number of JAS planes during the period to be covered by the next defense decision. There is simply a statement that the idea "should be considered."

Strengthened Antisubmarine Defense

Antisubmarine defense will be strengthened. Here the Liberal Party was able to negotiate an extra 50 million kronor beyond the 350 million that the Social Democrats were prepared to spend. That money will be used to improve fixed hydrophone installations and sonar systems on a number of ships. But ASW capability will not be increased markedly beyond what is called for in current plans, since the agreement does not provide funds for more coastal corvettes. Originally, both the Social Democrats and the Liberal Party wanted an additional 600 million kronor to spend on submarines. But in the end, the agreement provided 400 million kronor, most of which will be used to extend the life of two Sjoormen class submarines and thereby increase the number of submarines during the 1990's from 12 to 14. The agreement says that most of the submarines are to have minelaying capability. Most of these measures are already included in basic planning. The same is true of the ability of Viggen attack aircraft to carry Missile 15, which is mentioned in the agreement.

No New Ships

The bill does not include any money for new ships; it provides only for studies in connection with a future warship. The only money provided is for purchasing a prototype of such a ship during the period from 1992 to 1997.

Armed Forces growth will consist basically of two more surface-to-air missile battalions and more shore missiles. And 150 million kronor will be spent on the military intelligence service, bringing substantial growth in that area.

Lastly, the Armed Forces will also get 12 more transport helicopters.

In his program plan, the OB assessed the operational consequences of adopting "spending level 4," which corresponds in essence to the agreement reached between the SDP and the Liberal Party. The OB wrote that at that level, the "undermining" of the Armed Forces in comparison with the rest of the world "would continue during the 1990's" and that it could be "held back in the immediate future but not stopped." He also wrote that as far as invasion defense is concerned, the consequences over the longer term would be "a lag in relation to the way threats develop."

Design Process Described

Stockholm NY TEKNIK in Swedish 12 Feb 87 pp 21-25

[Article by Lars Nilsson; first six paragraphs are NY TEKNIK introduction; original paragraphing not strictly followed]

[Text] Sweden's new combat plane, the JAS-39 Gripen, is shown releasing an empty drop tank [in an illustration not included here].

The plane is not yet in the air--but it is flying anyway with the help of an advanced simulation program in Saab's computers in Linkoping.

The photo above [not included], taken from a VAX computer, shows what happens in segments of one-tenth of a second. Technicians use the computer picture to be sure that the tank will not hit the body of the aircraft as it falls.

A great deal of the development work on the JAS is being done using computers.

The aircraft has unique flight characteristics because of its movable canards. And even the pilot will need help from computers to fly the plane. But despite all the computers, the technicians cannot get by without wind tunnels and test pilots.

JAS pilots will have to learn a new way of flying. They will maneuver toward their target sideways and by executing quick turns without banking the plane. The movable canard, which the Gripen and every other new fighter plane has, is classified secret.

It looks as though the Wright Brothers and the engineers in Linkoping are turning out to be right after all.

The canard is back. And now it moves as well.

It is the very model of gadgetry--and the key to a whole new way of moving through the air.

Canards have been flown ever since Kitty Hawk. But until now, there has been only one really successful imitator of the plane built by the famous Wright Brothers: the Saab-37 Viggen.

The rest of the world built airplanes on the conventional pattern: a large swept wing in front and a small wing and fin on the tail.

That was the way things were for a long time. But now something has happened--although it has not happened overnight.

We now have the Israeli Lavi, the French Rafale, the British EAP (the prototype of the "Eurofighter"), and the proposals by Northrop and Lockheed for a new U.S. combat plane called the ATF (Advanced Tactical Fighter).

In every case, their shape reminds one of the Viggen: a large delta wing in back and two small canards in front.

And exactly as is true of the JAS-39 Gripen, both canards are movable.

The U.S. Air Force is even reworking its old designs. Over the next few years, an F-15 aircraft will be fitted with new engines--and canards.

This newly awakened interest in canards--also called foreplanes--is closely tied to the development of new systems for operating a plane's control surfaces--using electrical signals instead of mechanical means.

It was because of those electrical "fly-by-wire" systems that canards suddenly became movable. And along with that, designers were able for the first time in history to build unstable aircraft.

That combination of instability and movable canards marks the biggest difference between the Viggen and the JAS-39 Gripen.

Vortices

The Viggen is an aerodynamically stable airplane. This means that the plane automatically returns to its neutral position after that position is disturbed. The pilot does not need to intervene.

The canards give the Viggen additional lift. That means shorter takeoff and landing distances and improved turning ability.

From a purely theoretical standpoint, that is the advantage of a canard. But naturally, a canard also affects the flow of air around the main wing.

And it is not a foregone conclusion that that combination will work without problems.

"One must study the vortices around the canard to understand how they work," says Magnus-Ingemar Olsson, technical director at Saab and the man in charge of development work on the JAS-39 Gripen.

Saab was studying vortex flow in wind tunnels as far back as the early 1950's. At that time, there was no way to calculate that kind of flow.

"During the middle and late 1950's, we conducted systematic tests with a wing in front of the main wing. We tried different distances and heights in relation to the main wing," says Magnus-Ingemar Olsson.

Those tests led to the Viggen.

"The idea is to gain lift instead of losing it when piloting a plane. That is the basic idea behind the canards on the Viggen," says Johan Oster, an aerodynamics engineer at Saab.

But Saab's technicians feel that not all the advantages can be exploited until the canards become movable and can be coupled with the other control surfaces through an electrical control system.

The computerized electrical control system is necessary in order for the pilot to keep track of all control surfaces. The JAS-39 Gripen has seven control surfaces--two more than the Viggen. The Draken has only three.

The pilot's movements of the control stick and pedals are processed in a computer. Electrical signals are then sent over wires to hydraulic servomotors in the control surfaces.

Pilot control of the aircraft is increased. In precision, sensitivity, and speed, there is no comparison with a mechanical system.

New ways of flying are the result.

Pilot Decides

The ability of the JAS to turn is dramatically better than that of the Viggen. The limit is no longer set by the plane, but by the pilot. JAS pilots will be subjected to loads of nearly 9 g.

"It is possible to add limits to the control system if it turns out that pilots cannot withstand those loads," says Magnus-Ingemar Olsson.

Better g-suits, taut muscles, and labored breathing are a pilot's means of improving his resistance.

Blood must be kept in the brain at all costs. If a pilot loses consciousness, he also loses control of the plane, regardless of control system.

The canards enable the pilot to fly sideways. "He can point toward the target while flying in a different direction," says Magnus-Ingemar Olsson.

The pilot simply uses the entire aircraft to aim with and does not have to fly toward the target to do so.

Turning without banking the plane is another innovation which turns ingrained ideas upside down.

It is such remarkable maneuvers as that which will decide the outcome of air battles in the future. But Saab does not want to say exactly what the JAS-39 Gripen's capabilities are in that area. Nor does any other manufacturer.

"There was a time in the 1960's when people thought that missiles would be able to do it all. But they can't," says Johan Oster.

"There will be close combat with guns. And in those situations, turning ability will be important. It will be necessary to get into position quickly and then fire or lock a missile onto the target."

When a plane is landing, the canards act as air brakes. Their trailing edges are raised, thus increasing the downward pressure on the plane. The pilot can stop within a short distance.

The EAP demonstrated that capability to astounded spectators at the air show in Farnborough.

The JAS will use its canards in the same way. The aircraft lacks thrust reversal and, unlike the Viggen, cannot reverse its jet flow to decelerate.

The JAS is unstable at subsonic speeds. That is the other big innovation in comparison with the Viggen.

"Aircraft designers have always wanted to build unstable aircraft. But not until now, thanks to the electrical control system, has it been technically possible," says Magnus-Ingemar Olsson.

The advantage of reducing stability is that drag is also reduced, and that is the primary reason for doing it.

It improves the aircraft's performance.

Magnus-Ingemar Olsson went on to say: "The benefit is greater on a delta-wing aircraft than on a conventional one."

Naturally Stable

In a stable aircraft such as the Viggen, disturbance due to a moment acting in the opposite direction always results from a trimmed position, and that automatically returns the aircraft to its original position. The aircraft is said to be naturally stable.

The center of mass on the JAS has been shifted to the rear. The aircraft is unstable, and every disturbance must be corrected by altering the position of the control surfaces.

"It is like pushing a weathervane backwards," says Magnus-Ingemar Olsson.

The pilot himself cannot compensate for it by moving the control stick. The correction must be made more quickly or the aircraft will crash.

There is a computer to handle that job on the JAS. It constantly senses the aircraft's position and sends signals to the servos in the control surfaces.

The control system has three separate digital channels. There is also an analog backup for each channel.

"The reliability of the control system is very great. The risk of disaster is no greater in the JAS than it is in the Viggen," says Magnus-Ingemar Olsson.

If the control system stops operating despite all the built-in safeguards, the aircraft will crash. Any other aircraft does the same when such a disastrous fault occurs.

But there is one more built-in safety feature for the pilot.

"The aircraft becomes stable if the control system is knocked out," says Johan Oster.

He adds: "Instability in itself is no reason to crash."

The explanation is as follows:

If the control system is knocked out, the movable canards move freely into a neutral position. Lift then disappears from the canards. And the center of pressure (that is, the sum of all lifting forces) shifts rearward when no more lift is provided by the canards.

The aircraft becomes stable, and the pilot can eject himself from the cockpit.

"That feature has always existed in the JAS. But we did not want to make it known before we were sure that it would work," says Magnus-Ingemar Olsson.

The speed of the control system is crucial. The canards must drop into the neutral position within fractions of a second.

"We now know that it works. We have checked the control sequence on the computer," says Johan Oster.

Magnus-Ingemar Olsson says: "We wanted to bring this argument up many times during debates on unstable aircraft. But we didn't do so."

Completely New Way of Flying

When the movable canards are coupled with all the other control surfaces in the aircraft's control computer, new ways of flying are the result.

Exactly what the JAS-39 Gripen can do is something that neither Saab nor anyone else will say. They want to keep it a secret as long as possible.

"It can point a little bit this way and that with its nose" is the expression used by technicians.

What that means in plain language is that the Gripen uses its entire body to aim—somewhat like the S tank does—while the aircraft is in flight.

It is probable that the Gripen can also "take the elevator" as well as turn without first banking to one side. That is the opinion of international aircraft experts.

1. "Taking the elevator": The aircraft rises or drops without the pilot's having to raise or lower the nose. The angle with respect to the horizontal plane remains constant throughout this maneuver.

2. Flying sideways: The aircraft flies in one direction while its nose is pointing in another. The pilot aims to the right or the left in the horizontal plane.

3. Gliding turn: The pilot can turn the aircraft without first banking to the side. The aircraft "glides" into a new course. The entire maneuver takes place in the horizontal plane.

4. Raising or dipping the nose: The direction of flight remains unchanged, but the pilot uses the entire body of the aircraft to point up or down in the vertical plane.

Supercomputer Can Never Replace Test Pilots, Wind Tunnels

"We compute more and test less. But not even the Cray-1 supercomputer can replace wind tunnel tests and test pilots completely."

So says Karl Erik Modin, an aerodynamics engineer at Saab.

The JAS-39 Gripen will be in the air by the end of the year—but it is flying already in Saab's computers.

The first test flight aircraft is taking shape in Linköping. Its final assembly is currently underway in Saab's shops. It will roll out through the big hangar door in April. And by the end of the year, according to plans, the JAS-39 Gripen will be in the air.

It is already flying in Saab's computers. And the test pilots are carrying out their first combat missions using the system simulator.

Presumably with success.

Saab's technicians already know how the JAS will perform in the air. And the pilots are in the process of learning.

It will be an experienced pilot who takes the controls during the first test flight.

That flight is not going to present any surprises. And neither will the following tests, in the opinion of Saab's technicians.

"The purpose of test flights is to confirm our calculations," says Karl Erik Modin, an aerodynamics engineer working on the JAS.

"It was the same with the Viggen. But it is true to an even greater extent with the JAS."

The test pilot is no longer the daredevil from the exciting world of books for boys.

The pilot who takes a heroic nose dive into the unknown to test wing strength and the reliability of calculations no longer exists. Not in Linkoping, at any rate.

"We avoid all risks," says Johan Oster, the aerodynamics engineer who heads up the project at Saab.

Oster goes on to say: "The aerodynamic data put together in preparation for the JAS-39 Gripen's first test flight are better than for any other aircraft project Saab has had at the same stage of progress.

"Before any pilot takes to the air, our calculations will have covered every corner of the flight envelope—we even check the exclusive and odd gadgets."

Guys with the right stuff head right for those corners: to test themselves and the performance of the aircraft.

Calculating Is Cheap

Concern for the physical safety of the pilots is not the only reason why aerodynamics engineers are now spending more and more hours in front of their computer screens.

There is another important reason: it is cheap to calculate and expensive to test. Most expensive are the actual flight tests, followed by wind tunnel tests.

"It is true that simulations and computer calculations cost a lot of money. But we get that money back through fewer test flights, fewer interruptions, and—we hope—fewer surprises," says Johan Oster.

The view at Saab is that computers will never be able to replace wind tunnels completely—although there were hopes at one time that they would.

Computer calculations increase accuracy in the subsequent tests and reduce the number of tests.

"Calculations help us choose the right tunnel and the right model and then to adjust the model to yield the best results," says Karl Erik Modin.

Cray-1

When the JAS came along, Sweden got its first supercomputer: the Cray-1.

It stands in a well-guarded room at Saab, and it will soon be replaced by the next generation of supercomputer, the Cray-X/MP.

The trend toward faster speeds and larger memories in computers is now making it possible for aerodynamics engineers to resolve large systems of complicated equations. Computations which a few years ago were considered impossible—or would have kept the computer's central processor busy for years—are now everyday fare at Saab.

Technicians use the computers to combine aerodynamics—what happens outside and on the body of the aircraft—with the science of the strength of materials—what happens inside the aircraft.

One example is the elastic characteristics of the JAS-39 Gripen.

Johan Oster says:

"For example, it is quite simple for us to see how a control surface angle influences the flow around the aircraft's fin.

"If we combine that model with another one—an elastic model of the aircraft's wing—in the computer, we can see how the entire wing moves when the pilot adjusts the angle of a control surface."

Wing stress is tremendous when an aircraft is flying at low altitude and high speed.

"With the Viggen, those effects were tested using the model. The wind tunnel tests were both expensive and complicated.

"We are determining the elastic characteristics of the JAS wings completely by computation," says Johan Oster.

The trend toward more and increasingly complicated calculations will continue. The people at Saab are convinced of it.

"In the future, calculations will enter the picture at an even earlier stage of development work. When we started work on the JAS, we did not have the supercomputer.

"Now we are using it from the start in planning the trainer version of the JAS," says Johan Oster.

"But we also need wind tunnels.

"And test pilots."

Supercomputer Picture of JAS

Here is the supercomputer's picture of the JAS-39 Gripen [not included].

The technicians are studying overpressure along the aircraft's outer skin. In the computer picture, overpressure is shown in red and underpressure in blue.

"Using a picture like this, we can see whether, for example, there is a danger of detachment under the covering layer," says Karl Erik Modin, aerodynamics engineer at Saab.

The aircraft's outer skin consists of small panels. Each panel has specific torsion and pressure. Complicated shapes require many small panels.

The picture shows a total of 1,600 panels.

"Since the plane is symmetrical, we only need to make our calculations on one side. We call that a budget run."

The supercomputer solves the differential equations which describe the pressure on each individual panel.

When combined, a panel's torsion and pressure provide a force vector which can be broken down into its components: lifting force and drag.

At Mach 1.8, the aircraft's drag is the sum of all components along the entire fuselage. It is simply a matter of adding them together or integrating them.

"The canard or any other part of the aircraft is studied by separating it out and adding up the loads," says Karl Erik Modin. "In that way, it is possible to calculate the canard's contribution to total lift."

11798

CSO: 3650/72

VOLVO FLYGMOTOR GETS ENGINE ORDER TO FILL VIGGEN, JAS GAP

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 19 Mar 87 p 14

[Text] Just in time for the end of the production of Viggen engines at Volvo Flygmotor in Trollhattan next year, the company has received a major order for engine components worth 300 million kronor from General Electric.

Delivery will take place during 1988-1992 and will thus fill the gap between Viggen and the manufacture of engines for the JAS 39 Gripen.

The basis for the Flygmotor contract is a major order for 40 new aircraft from American Airlines to Flygmotor's cooperation partner General Electric. The order includes 25 Airbus A310 and 15 Boeing B767.

All of the aircraft are equipped with General Electric's and Flygmotor's CF-80C engine.

11949

CSO: 3650/92

DECISION TO END NUCLEAR POWER AGE SEEN BENEFITING DEFENSE

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 27 Mar 87 p 17

[Interview of Defense Research Institute official Peter Steen by Dan Magnerot and Bob Melander: "Defense Research Institute Sees Advantages in Abolishing Nuclear Power; Small-Scale Production Better in War"]

[Text] There are advantages in abolishing nuclear power. A new electric power system can be made less vulnerable to attack and sabotage. Today, a mobilization would be greatly affected if the electric power network were knocked out, says Peter Steen, head of the FOA [Defense Research Institute] department which undertakes studies of civilian preparedness.

"It is urgent for us to get a more robust electric system and rapidly to start testing new technologies, such as small-scale thermal power plants. Unfortunately, the power companies are conservative and more attracted to large systems."

[Question] In what way is today's energy system vulnerable?

[Answer] It is strongly centralized and can be knocked out by saboteurs. This is serious primarily during a rapid mobilization.

We, in turn, have pointed out that an investment in major coal condenser power plants does not reduce today's vulnerability, which is desirable.

Local power production in thermal power plants, among others, could increase the assurance of supply in an emergency situation in war.

[Question] So the abolition of nuclear power is positive from the aspect of emergency and preparedness?

[Answer] Compared to this type of sabotage incidents, it is an improvement. On the other hand, with a blockade there are advantages in storing nuclear fuel, but then thermal power plants based on domestic biofuels become interesting for the future supply of electric power.

[Question] Which is more important, more submarines or a decentralized power production system?

[Answer] In wartime, with surprise attacks and sabotage in connection with mobilization, I actually think that the power supply is more important than a number of submarines. It is now important for the peacetime society to come up with a power system which is good for the total defense, and secure in peacetime as well.

The system Steen believes most in is gasification of biofuels; the gas is then used in thermal diesels or fuel cells. There are pilot-scale facilities which seem promising.

"But the most positive aspect is that it is possible to produce series of such installations and reduce the costs."

[Question] Is gasification a flexible system?

[Answer] Yes, it ought to be possible to switch between biogas and natural gas and, when necessary, run the diesels with oil.

[Question] What other technologies are compatible with good energy preparedness?

[Answer] One of them is of course "low-energy use," efficient utilization in the residential sector, among others.

Unfortunately, there are indications that the principals in the power area would prefer to continue with large-scale solutions in which one has acquired competency. Smaller systems do not have the same power of attraction.

Steen broaches the question of who should manage the new energy technologies including new electric power production, and says that the FOA is doing a study on that problem which will come out in the fall.

"But we can note today that municipal energy plant managers have a strong interest in new technology."

[Question] What does a good abolition strategy look like for the 12 reactors?

[Answer] Start testing new technology, thinking about what forces will drive the development on the energy user side and in production. The municipalities have a great responsibility, as do companies of type HSB [Association of Tenants' Savings and Building Societies] and Riksbyggen.

Sweden must discuss energy questions on the basis of who has influence and who does not, in Steen's opinion.

"Unfortunately, we do not have a tradition of discussing opposite alternatives; it is almost bad form to discuss them. In Sweden the Waterfall Agency has acquired growing influence, while the United States has taken a

great deal away from the major power companies and opened the way for small producers of electricity."

And on the basis of "emergency preparedness considerations in planning and social development," Peter Steen sees FOA's role as one of including the question of a robust power system in the decisions about a future power system.

[Question] But is all this going to cost?

[Answer] That is a political question. What we at FOA can do is to point out the pros and cons. The conditions for small-scale power must be improved, otherwise it will not be built. And that process must get under way.

[Question] How are companies and public opinion to believe that the problems will be solved once "the process gets under way?"

[Answer] Well, we really do have time. So we can take a certain amount of risk, experiment for a while and test solutions in practice in order to have a good foundation for decision later on.

Let us experiment. If things don't work out, we are back to square one, but at least we will have done the tests and learned something.

[Question] Is a major increase in the price of electricity required, with built-in compensation when things start to get tough?

[Answer] The price of electricity is a very rough lever. It might be better to have a number of precise measures instead of steep increases.

One problem which Steen wants to stress is the questions of the mechanisms which are to apply to the abolition of nuclear power. How do you shut down operation at these power plants?

"Is it once new capacity has been developed or when the time limit expires for each plant in a shutdown schedule based on exact dates, which the principals of the power market have known for a long time? That question remains unanswered today."

And as regards large-scale importation of natural gas, Steen comments on such a development with the argument that the vulnerability problem remains for Sweden.

"The gas fields in the Baltic Sea are military targets, naturally. But we could have some gas and some other things. But we must avoid being greatly dependent on gas and not put all our eggs in one basket once again."

[Question] The rest of the world could perhaps stay peaceful in the future, so we can invest in a vulnerable system?

[Answer] That is conceivable. "The future" is always true to its age; it is the prevailing mood of society which decides many choices. But more effective use of energy always has advantages.

Steen also wishes for a U.S.-style advocacy procedure between opponents and proponents of nuclear power and a continued centralized power supply.

"Each side should have the right to have its arguments fairly described. Both sides should agree on each others' facts and conceptions of what is being discussed."

11949

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COUNTRY'S 'OIL AGE' SEEN POSSIBLY OVER AFTER TURN OF CENTURY

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Feb 87 p 5

[Article by Morten Woldsdal]

[Text] The Norwegian "Oil Age" may be over by the end of this century. Seventy five percent of the oil reserves will be gone by the year 2000 if all the fields that the oil companies now plan to develop are approved by the authorities. This is indicated by calculations made by the Oil and Energy Ministry. Around 1993, oil production could be twice as high as it is today.

The oil companies are working on plans to develop about 10 new oil and gas fields. This includes most of the remaining fields on the continental shelf. Most of them could be in production by the early 1990's.

If all the projects are approved by the authorities--in addition to Gullfaks and Oseberg, which will soon be in operation--Norwegian oil production could rise from the present level of 1 million barrels per day to about 2 million barrels around 1993. This could happen even though Ekofisk production is already declining and Statfjord production will begin to decline during the early 1990's.

Among World's Largest

At that time, Norway will be the largest oil producer in the North Sea. In global terms, only Saudi Arabia and perhaps a few other countries will be larger.

The new projects under consideration on the continental shelf could require total investments of 150 billion kroner. The government would have to cover a large share of this total. If the projects are approved, government investments in oil activities could be higher than government oil revenues for several years to come.

According to recent calculations by the Oil and Energy Ministry, about 75 percent of today's known oil reserves will be gone by the year 2000 if all the new fields are developed.

This was confirmed by a note from the Oil Directorate. The note stressed that future oil prices were highly uncertain. "For this reason, the

authorities must decide the extent to which our society should be exposed to fluctuating oil prices during the early 1990's by allowing a significant portion of the remaining known oil reserves to be produced over a period of 5 to 7 years," the note said.

Great Risk Of Loss

The directorate stressed that the authorities here are facing a great risk of losses resulting from lower oil prices during this short period beginning in 1991: "It cannot be right to utilize such a large portion of the limited oil resources during this period in which the danger of low prices is so great," the directorate wrote. A doubling of oil production during the first half of the 1990's could also create new problems for Norway with respect to OPEC.

Norway has much more gas than oil. At today's production level, the gas reserves would last more than 100 years. But it is becoming more and more difficult to sell all the gas. Consequently, in the years to come, it will be more and more important for Norway to find more oil and to sell much more natural gas.

If oil production comes up to about 2 million barrels per day around 1993, then the annual production will correspond to the reserves in an extremely large oil field. Thus, to extend the Oil Age, a large new field must be discovered every year. Both in the North Sea and on Haltenbanken, however, the experts believe that most of the reserves have already been found and the possibilities of making major new discoveries are rather small. For this reason, the companies and the authorities hope that exploration in the Barents Sea will discover large quantities of oil in the near future.

Up to the present, the authorities have approved every single project that the oil companies have proposed. The need to create jobs at the shipyards has been an extremely important consideration, but the authorities will have to apply the brakes in the near future. The Oil and Energy Ministry will examine this problem in detail in a report it will present to parliament in April.

The new projects that are being planned will result in a new Golden Age for the shipyards during the early 1990's. Investments could drop again dramatically within a few years, however. For this reason, in order to create the most stable development possible, it may be necessary to spread out these projects over a longer period of time.

If the Norwegian oil reserves are to last a good bit into the next century--and if no new oil is discovered--the authorities must limit production far below today's OPEC ceiling. Another possibility is that the projects will have to "stand in line" and individual new projects will be postponed. The authorities could also raise taxes again in order to make new fields less profitable.

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COMPANIES EAGER TO EXPAND DRILLING FIELDS AS RESERVES DECLINE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Feb 87 p 5

[Article by Morten Woldsdal]

[Text] The oil companies are waiting in line to develop new oil and gas fields on the Norwegian continental shelf. According to oil company plans, 10 to 12 new projects could be proposed for governmental approval during the next 3 or 4 years. This was indicated by an AFTENPOSTEN study. Never before have so many fields been ready for development.

This year and next year alone, parliament could take up six to eight new oil and gas projects. By 1990/1991 the oil companies could propose plans for projects totaling 125 to 150 billion kroner--in addition to the Troll, Sleipner, and Tommeliten projects, which were approved last year.

The companies are eager to develop so many new fields primarily because of changed tax regulations and higher oil prices.

The engineering industries will have an extremely difficult time in 1988 and 1989. The new projects will begin too late to help the situation in these years. Beginning in late 1989, however, and for a few years thereafter, shipyards along the coast could experience a new Golden Age. When the Troll project comes into full swing, along with the new fields, annual investments could reach a record 30 to 35 billion kroner, compared to 25 to 30 billion in recent years.

Here is a summary of oil and gas fields that the oil companies now hope to develop in the near future:

Veslefrikk (Statoil): Parliamentary approval expected this spring. Production start in late 1989. Investments about 5 billion kroner.

Gyda (BP): Parliamentary approval expected this spring. Production start early 1991. Investments of about 8 billion.

Oseberg Nord (Norsk Hydro): Hydro hopes for a parliamentary approval this spring and a production start in 1990. Investments of 6 to 7 billion.

Draugen, Haltenbanken (Shell): Parliamentary approval could come late this year. Production start 1991/1992. Investments of about 10 billion.

Snorre (Saga Petroleum): Parliamentary approval hoped for this fall. Production start 1992. Investments of about 30 billion.

Heidrun, Haltenbanken (Conoco): Parliamentary approval expected during the spring of 1988. Production start 1993. Investments of about 25 billion.

Brage (Norsk Hydro): Can come before parliament in the spring of 1988. If so, production could begin in 1991/1992. Investments of 7 to 8 billion.

6407/7, Haltenbanken (Norsk Hydro): Depends on future drilling. Could be approved by parliament in the spring of 1989. If so, production start in 1993/1994. Investments of 10 to 15 billion.

Midgard, Haltenbanken (Saga Petroleum): Depends on gas market. Will not come up in parliament before 1989. Investments of 10 to 20 billion.

Statfjord satellites (Statoil): Parliamentary approval expected around 1990. In production around 1993. Investments of about 5 billion.

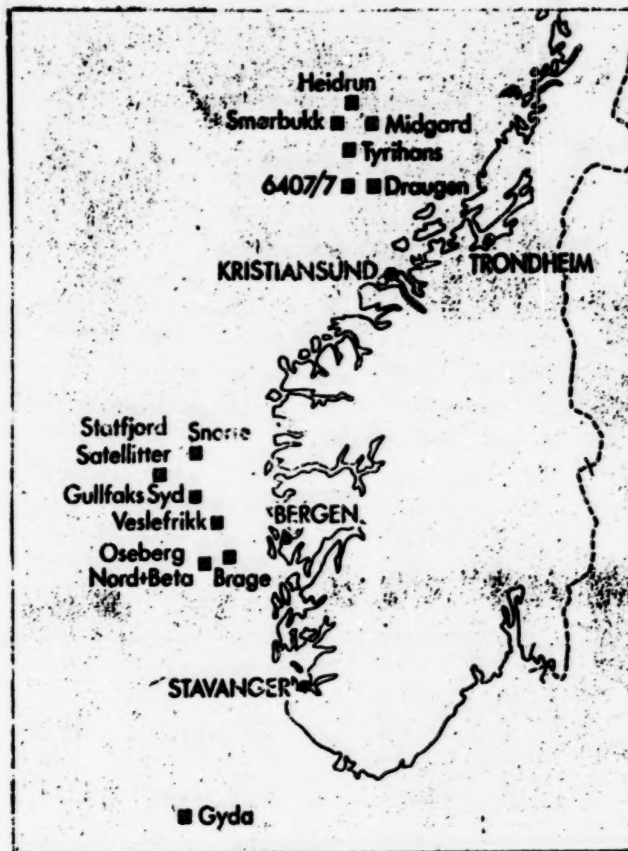
Oseberg Beta (Norsk Hydro): Parliamentary approval around 1990, at the earliest. Production start around 1995. Investments of 5 to 8 billion.

Gullfaks Syd (Statoil): Could be proposed as a project during the early 1990's. No estimate of investments.

Tyrihans and Smorbukk, Haltenbanken (Statoil): Must have a solution to gas problem. May be presented to parliament during the early 1990's. No estimate of investments.

Troll Phase II (Norsk Hydro): Could hardly be in production before the year 2000. Investments estimated at about 30 billion.

In addition to these oil and gas fields, this year or next year parliament is expected to approve the Zeepipe pipeline from Troll/Sleipner to Belgium. This would require investments of about 14 billion.



This map shows all the oil and gas fields that the oil companies hope will be approved for development during the next 3 or 4 years.

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CSO: 3639/25

ENERGY

NORWAY

BRIEFS

SAGA DEVELOPS SNORRE FIELD--Saga Petroleum will develop the Snorre Field in the North Sea. This project will require investments of about 30 billion kroner and Snorre will be in production in 1992. This is extremely good news for Norwegian engineering industries. Many of the Snorre contracts will be let in 1988 and 1989--the 2 years that appear to be most difficult for these industries. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Feb 87 p 5] 9336

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